Daily Report

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CEMA Bank Bodies End Prague Meeting

AU3110144888 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefs" column: "Conclusion of a Session of the Banks' Board of Directors"]

[Text] A session of the board of directors of the International Investment Bank ended in Prague yesterday. It dealt with the credit plan for 1989, discussed a report on the extension of credits in support of undertakings included in the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and assessed four credit requests of organizations of CEMA member countries. The 69th session of the board of directors of the International Bank of Economic Cooperation was also held during the 3-day meeting. Apart from the boards of directors of the two banks, the session was also attended by delegations of CEMA member countries' national banks and by representatives of the CEMA Secretariat.

Scientists of Socialist States Meet in Berlin

AU3110210288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A routine meeting of the International Scientific Council of fraternal parties from socialist states was opened in Berlin on Thursday [27 October] by Prof Otto Reinhold, rector of the SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences. The meeting is devoted to problems of socialist democracy. The Scientific Council is chaired by Prof Sandor Lakos (Hungary).

Earlier, members of the council and guests from other scientific institutions of the fraternal parties and academies of CEMA countries took part in a symposium on the GDR's political system and the further development and improvement of socialist democracy under the conditions of intensification. This symposium was organized in Schwerin by the GDR Council for Scientific Communism.

National Hygiene Congress Ends in Sofia

AU2910195988 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—The Fifth National Hygiene Congress, which ended here today, was attended by guests from the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

The participants heard 532 papers and discussed the novelties in hygiene standardization, control systems, evaluation criteria, computer information and processing software, new diagnostic kits, epidemiological studies, rational, dietetic and hospital food, and modern problems of adolescent hygiene. Particularly interesting was the roundtable discussion on theoretical and methodological problems of hygiene, and above all on its links and interrelations with other fields of medicine and biology: ergonomics, ecology and medical geography.

Much concern was voiced over the state of preventive medicine in this country. It was reiterated that it has an undeniable share in the success rate of health care but its capacities are still insufficiently utilized. In future, energetic and comprehensive measures should be taken for the pollution control of the air, the water supply and the soils, as well as for the provision of safe working conditions. Priority should be assigned to the occupational hygiene problems of electronics, the electronified and chemical industries and the leading agricultural branches. Research and development should focus increasingly on the problems of workers' health-care.

Prof Dr Vladimir Boyadzhiev was re-elected president of the Learned Society for Hygiene.

UN Delegates Speak on Disarmament

Jaroszek Delivers Address

LD2010022288 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] New York, Oct. 19—During a disarmament debate, which began here in the U.N. General Assembly's Political Committee, Poland's representative—Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Henryk Jaroszek, presented Poland's stand on basic disarmament issues and the shaping of a universal system of peace and international security.

Acknowledging a significant improvement of the international climate, and especially the beginning of the process of real disarmament, the speaker deemed as important that a real contribution, strengthening these favourable trends, be made by all states and international community as a whole. "The goal is to transform the present improvement of the international climate into a lasting, irrevocable state. The best, and at the same time necessary, test of this irrevocability should be further significant concrete international agreements in the field of disarmament—both nuclear and conventional," Jaroszek said.

"The socialist states are prepared to dynamically meet these challenges facing the international community and the world organization. This is clearly evidenced by the documents adopted on July 16th, 1988, in Warsaw by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee: the communique, statement on negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and a document concerning ecological security," Jaroszek added.

Jaroszek, who acted as the secretary general of the PCC Warsaw meeting, also said: "The highest body of our alliance put forward a broad list of proposals. They strive towards the elimination of negative factors from international life, towards further improvement of the situation in Europe and the world, towards the achievement of concrete progress in disarmament."

The speaker recalled that the PCC conference deemed as priorities the following issues: the signing of a treaty on the fifty-percent reduction of offensive strategic missiles of the Soviet Union and the United States, the introduction of a universal and total ban on nuclear weapons experiments, the signing of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons as well as the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and also the reduction of military expenditures. At the same time it was stressed that the money saved on armaments could be directed towards accelerating the economic and social development of states.

Poland's representative noted with satisfaction that the joint plan of the socialist countries expressed in the PCC documents covered a number of elements contained in the Polish plan of reducing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, commonly known as the Jaruzelski Plan.

Jaroszek pointed to the fact that in its present form the plan, despite the fact that it concerns the European region, due to the political importance of central Europe and the amassing of an enormous arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons in it had in reality a wider significance, even a universal one.

"The Jaruzelski plan is an original, Polish contribution bringing closer the realization of the joint initiative of the socialist states concerning the shaping of a universal system of peace and international security. It also is evidence that Poland is an active and important partner in the disarmament dialogue," he concluded.

CSSR Takes Part in Debate

LD0411092688 Prague CTK in English
1959 GMT 03 Nov 88

[Text] New York Nov 3 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia has constructively contributed to the strengthening of the structure of security and cooperation in Europe by its proposal for the creation of a zone of cooperation, confidence and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states, Czechoslovak representative Jiri Pavlovsky said in the general debate on disarmament problems in the Political and Security Committee here today.

This proposal is based on a combination of measures of military and non-military character, he stressed, and pointed out also the joint proposal of Czechoslovakia and the GDR for the creation of a Central European chemical-free zone. This idea is in full harmony with the effort for a quick conclusion of a world treaty on the ban on and liquidation of these weapons, Pavlovsky said.

Czechoslovak permanent representative in the U.N. Evzen Zapotocky welcomed in the plenary session of the General Assembly agreements on Kampuchea concluded at a meeting of all sides involved in Jakarta. These agreements stress the necessity of a political solution which, apart from the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, requires the prevention of the return of the Pol Pot regime.

Bulgarian Journalists Day 1 November

AU0111161288 Sofia BTA in English
1430 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—"Many more things are reported now, things which have previously gone unreported receive coverage, and events and facts are now reported the way they are": This is how Mr Boyan Traykov, president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and director general of the BTA, answered a question of the LITERATUREN FRONT weekly concerning the increased interest in the mass media output.

His interview, as well as today's journalists' meeting to mark the day of Bulgarian journalism and of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO newspaper, has been highlighted by the reforms in society and in journalism.

The social role of the mass media under the new social conditions will be also the topic of discussion at the Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists due in December. The reporting community is also looking forward to the passage of a press act. Now all journalists and the state and party bodies are busy discussing plans for a new efficient system to keep the media people and, through them, the public, currently informed.

Obstacles are still being encountered in the clearing up of open questions, in covering "awkward" subjects and long "classified" statistics and other data essentially containing nothing secret. This is one of the reasons why a press act has to be passed, said Mr Gencho Arabadzhiev, first deputy editor-in-chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, addressing the meeting. Endorsement of the new elements introduced by restructuring, criticism of everything that stands in its way, getting to the bottom of things, providing platform for a frank and open public dialogue: all this requires discussions and a socialist pluralism of opinions in the search for the truth, he emphasized.

Recalling the resolutions of the CC of the BCP on the intellectual sphere and the decision of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP on the press, the speaker stressed that openness and democratisation underlie the transformations. He said that the changed attitude of the publishers to their periodicals, the overcoming of the direct administrative subordination, the turning of the periodicals into partners and opponents of the publishers guarantee that the mass media will be restructured.

Mr Gencho Arabadzhiev cited the example of Soviet journalism when he spoke about the tasks and the responsibilities of media people in this country.

Traykov Urges 'New Journalist's Thinking'

AU0211153188 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No 44, 27 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Boyan Traykov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union and BTA chief director, by Ilinda Markova on the occasion of Bulgarian Journalists Day: "Glasnost—A Guarantee for Restructuring"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Markova] Recently, journalism seems to have distracted the readers' attention from literary subjects....

[Traykov] This is quite natural and understandable, given the circumstances in which we live. This is a period of dynamic development and stormy changes, of massive upheavals in the sociopsychological strata. Journalism reports very promptly on current events. It reflects and interprets the new social processes and mutual relations, and immediately responds to the people's aspirations.

Poetry is a form of prompt reaction to events, as well, but the interest in factual reporting is greater today.

[Markova] Why is this so?

[Traykov] Present-day journalism is distinguished by a change in quantity —it reports on a much larger number of subjects—as well as by a change in the variety of subjects—since it reports things that were not reported in the past. In addition there has been a change in quality: Events and facts are reported in a factual manner. These changes completely determine the nature of journalism as a truthful, realistic, and accurate source of information for society that does not distort or embellish things.

[Markova] What made these embellishments necessary?

[Traykov] The method of reporting everything in a rosy light was a common feature of the socialist countries. It is an expression of naive and doctrinaire thinking aimed at creating an atmosphere of optimism and enthusiasm whenever socialism is mentioned, an effort to describe reality in as bright and beautiful a way as possible, so that people should not be upset, and to conceal all negative events and phenomena, as well as all controversial subjects. This method is totally outdated and has been fully rejected; nevertheless, it continues to appear by force of inertia. I recently read the following report from Strazhitsa: "Despite successes achieved in the fulfillment of the housing program, by the end of August 1988, only 184 housing units had been provided for the population, instead of 574 as envisaged by the plan." The report talks about achievements, while the population of this tragically affected area has hardly been provided with one-third of the envisaged housing units. This is how, by force of inertia, some journalists are trying to make an unpleasant fact more palatable.

[Markova] We are talking about a serious development of glasnost. Nevertheless, what would you describe as the main obstacle to its full development?

[Traykov] Our party policy firmly demands glasnost on the largest scale and encourages its manifestation. Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish a favorable atmosphere for the full exchange of information in our society. This can be mainly attributed to subjective reasons.

Many leaders and functionaries of ministries, associations, and socio-administrative organs who should provide information still do not realize that they are not entitled to a monopoly on information. They believe that they are the only ones authorized to possess and use information, and do not admit that journalists are entitled to request information and to propagate it. These people think they are able to conceal their activities from society. In addition to this, information is a certain form of power. Those who possess more information have the feeling of being more powerful. They are afraid to share this information with others and to unveil the secret of their activities, because this would affect their self-confidence.

Many of those who should receive information or detect it are hardly striving for this—they do not fight for this right. If they are told something, they report it, if not—they are ready to give up. Let us go back to the tragic event of the recent air crash. It was very important. Journalists from various media went to the airport. Some of them were satisfied with the commission's answers and just reported that there had been an accident. Other colleagues, however, despite the fact that the area was off limits, found a way to sneak in, see for themselves, interview eye witnesses, and report many more facts and impressions.

In our country many things are still unjustifiably declared to be classified information or secrets. All facts and figures that were formerly declared to be state or official secrets should now be revised and become widely accessible. Only those facts pertaining to national security should be considered state secrets, and only certain scientific and economic data pertaining to trade relations of nationwide or international importance should be considered official secrets.

I would like to repeat: Information represents a certain form of power. Since power is exercised through the people, they are entitled to information, which is a form of power. A journalist should request information, search for it, and struggle to obtain it, not for his own benefit, but to fulfill his basic obligation: to pass this information on to those who are entitled to it—the members of our society.

The establishment of a comprehensive and efficient new system for the dissemination of prompt and complete information to all journalists and, through them, to our whole society, is being discussed with the participation of journalists, and of all state and party organs. A law on the press is now in preparation.

[Markova] The ancient peoples used to say that the people's voice is God's voice. What do we say today?

[Traykov] Glasnost is a struggle for innovation, a struggle for the future. Glasnost is not negation, as some people believe. Glasnost is a confirmation of innovation, of restructuring in socialism. It encourages, supports, and motivates. Negation is also necessary, but only to reject the things that obstruct restructuring and are trying to prevent it. Glasnost is a shield and a weapon, a guarantee for restructuring.

A colleague from the West once asked me why do we not speak about the beginning of glasnost, but about its expansion. This is so because glasnost as a phenomenon is nothing new in our country. Bulgarian journalism has always been well-informed and critical. We did something which no one has ever done to this day—we carried live broadcasts, both on television and radio, of three BCP congresses and of two BCP national conferences, which are the highest political forums in our country. Please take note that this has been the practice since 1976. If optimal glasnost was not fully achieved, it is because glasnost cannot be an isolated event. It depends on changes in the political superstructure, on the total democratization and development of our society.

[Markova] How does this reflect upon the activities of the Bulgarian Journalists Union?

[Traykov] The restructuring of our organization qualitatively changes the essence and activities of this self-managing, professional, and creative institution; it provides for democratic mutual relations, for an extensive dialogue and for the implementation of the entire ideological and intellectual potential of all journalists. Every talented and devoted journalists receives the necessary support and unlimited opportunities for creative manifestation and self-implementation. An atmosphere favorable to the expansion of fully fledged creative life has been established within the union, so that every individual journalist and all of us together may work for the innovation of the mass media and Bulgarian journalism for the restructuring of our socialist society as a whole.

[Markova] Let us talk about the journalist's word—how effective is it? Do we have any right to doubt the striking power of this word?

[Traykov] If the journalist's word carries weight it will achieve its goal. If it is competent, backed by strong arguments, logical, objective, and truthful—it will be effective.

Some people do not take the journalist's word into consideration. These are excessively self-confident people—they share the conviction that their position does not depend on public opinion. Now that everything is becoming more open, society will be able to see everything and express opinions on all events. It will be difficult to disregard the journalist's word as an expression of public opinion.

This however infinitely enhances the professional and civic responsibility of journalists and the social importance of our profession. To perceive, to reflect, and to express public opinion—this is an exceptionally important mission. Only a journalist who is well-informed and competent, endowed with a sense of justice, objectivity, and a lofty civic conscience, who is capable of understanding the core of the facts, who is sensible, and humane ... only such a journalist is capable of assuming his social responsibility, getting involved, and inspiring his readers.

[Markova] Do you think that it is appropriate for young journalists today, at their graduation ceremony, to take an oath like physicians and lawyers?

[Traykov] Yes, such an oath will become official, it will become a ritual, but this is not the most important thing. It is important that everyone who becomes a journalist take an oath before his own conscience that he will work for justice and the benefit of our society.

[Markova] In talking about new political thinking, can we talk about new journalists' thinking?

[Traykov] We can indeed! We not only can do so, but we should talk about and strive for new journalists' thinking. It is essentially based on realism—realism in judging the world surrounding us and the problems that stem from its development, realism in viewing mutual social relations, the journalist's profession in the era of innovation, as well as the priorities in the socialist society's system of values.

New journalists' thinking requires a correct analysis and truthful evaluation of facts and processes, openness, direct tackling of problems, and broad-minded views and thoughts.

In addition, the new journalists' thinking requires increased awareness of everything that concerns society, focusing on the problems of the individual. New journalists' thinking determines a firm stand and requires active efforts to defend this stand. Journalism today calls for a much more personal approach. Those who possess the necessary quality of new journalists' thinking will assert themselves as creative personalities, and with a clear conscience, they can tell their readers, viewers, and listeners: "I think!"

Mayor Discusses Glasnost Implications for Media

AU0411083188 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 44, 31 Oct 88 pp 1,8

[Interview with Stefan Ninov, Sofia city mayor, by unnamed POGLED correspondent: "For Everyone's Eyes"; date, place not given]

[Text] This is Sofia—we all look at this city and make our comments about it. However, on the eve of 1 November—Bulgarian Journalists Day—we interviewed Sofia Mayor Stefan Ninov, not about the capital's popularity, but in connection with its popular initiatives regarding cooperation with journalists, initiatives which the Sofia municipality is by no means trying to restrict, but rather, to expand. As a matter of fact, let us examine the mutual relations between the municipality and journalists. This was the subject discussed during an interview with the mayor when a POGLED representative paid a visit to his office:

[Correspondent] Is it true that a kind of ban exists preventing leading officials and functionaries of the Sofia City Municipality from receiving journalists without special authorization?

[Ninov] This interview is an opportunity for me to congratulate all Sofia journalists on their day. As to the specific question you just asked, can you imagine me in the role of a supervisor who distributes permits to various functionaries telling one of them: You are allowed to talk to journalists, but preventing another one from doing so? No such thing exists. As early as 2 years ago the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee adopted a special instruction applying to all our departments which, to put it briefly, not merely allowed (I really find this word inappropriate), but even obliged leading functionaries and specialists of the Sofia City Council to cooperate with journalists, and not only to cooperate with them, but improve this cooperation.

[Correspondent] I expected this answer, all the more so since POGLED has never had any problems in asking for information. Nevertheless, how do you explain the fact that certain colleagues seem to think the opposite?

[Ninov] Some people in certain departments seem to lack understanding for such questions. Others are so engrossed with their own self-importance that they look at all things from the angle of their own work and arrogantly consider themselves the center around which the whole world, or at least the whole city, should revolve. They regard journalists as some kind of amateurs who interfere with their work. A few days ago you wrote something of this kind in your weekly. However, I would once more like to tell all Sofia journalists that the leadership of this city regards their work as a very serious political activity and considers relations with all journalists as an inseparable part of its own activities.

[Correspondent] How do you personally understand glasnost within the framework of the Sofia City Council and the Sofia municipalities?

[Ninov] We have eliminated all barriers in this respect. Every journalist today has free access not only to the Sofia City Council building, but is also entitled to attend Executive Committee sessions. We cannot have and do not have any secrets, we have nothing to hide from the citizens of Sofia, and this applies in particular to the present restructuring period. We cannot say that the development of our city is proceeding smoothly and peacefully. There is even more: We seek contact with journalists, because it is easier to reach the citizens through them. It is in the interest of our entire capital that our intentions and ideas be submitted to the judgment of public opinion before they are adopted as decisions. This cooperation with the press is not forced upon us from above; it is a necessity.

[Correspondent] Let us turn the question around: What do journalists want from the municipality? What do they propose? Let us add something more: Can you describe the things you do not like about the journalists' search and their proposals?

[Ninov] I do not like it when a journalist tries to impose his own views, claiming that they are identical with public opinion. Is this not exactly what we would like to prevent the city officials from doing—forcing their own views on others?

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, the journalist has his own opinion. What should he do with it?

[Ninov] He can express it as his personal opinion, and thus act in a democratic manner, just like every other citizen.

[Correspondent] Can you describe how further opportunities for the mutual exchange of information will increase in the future?

[Ninov] Information is particularly important. We have already appointed an official spokesperson for Sofia City Council. She is Comrade Temenuzhka Teofilova, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee. As of November 1988 she will hold a press conference every Friday at which she will answer all kinds of questions. Also, in the future we are planning special briefings for journalists who attend sessions of the Executive Councils. The briefings will take place immediately following each session and will be an opportunity for journalists to learn more details about the issues discussed at the session. We will also improve the organization of our daily contacts with the press. In this respect we will continue to rely on the coordinating activities of our press department. I would like to add, and I hope that you will agree with me on this point, that no dialogue based on equal rights can be conducted without certain rules that should be observed by both sides. What would happen if I gave interviews every day?

[Correspondent] Interviews are also necessary....

[Ninov] Naturally, but they should not be a substitute for our daily work. In my opinion the main thing is to provide accurate and exhaustive information for every journalist who wishes to write about Sofia city affairs, but he can obtain this information from the secretary of a commission, from a specialist, or from a council expert—it does not make any difference. There is even more: In addition to such daily contacts at the request of journalists, we are planning for every chairman of a Sofia City Council Commission to devote at least half a working day every month to informal briefings with journalists. Last, but not least, may I ask you a question, or rather ask you for a favor?

[Correspondent] As it is the custom to say... thank you for your confidence.

[Ninov] We would be very pleased to see in the pages of the organ of the Bulgarian Journalists Union an even greater variety of interesting ideas, proposals, and recommendations for cooperation with the mass media, as well as for the further development of our city. Our plans for various town development solutions for the current 5-year plan period have already been submitted and we would gladly w !come any feasible suggestions and new ideas on further improvements. Within just a few months—on 3 April 1989—we will all celebrate a great jubilee—the 110th anniversary of Sofia as Bulgaria's capital. This city for which we, the city officials, and you, the journalists, are working in the public eye deserves our best.

Daily Rebuts Supreme Court Criticism

AU0311162488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed commentary: "Glasnost Requires Correct Behavior and Ethical Approach" under the rubric "Feedback"]

[Text] Bulgarian television recently invited representatives from the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to appear on the Panorama political survey program which was televised on 29 October 1988. They were asked to comment on a RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial, entitled: "The Citizens' Peaceful Life, Property, and Honor Are Inviolable," published in Issue No 300 on 26 October 1988.

Toward the end of an otherwise useful and meaningful discussion, Ivan Palazov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, cited examples of critical items which

appeared in Bulgarian dailies, or in television programs which, as he claimed, were "absolutely untrue." One of these items, according to Palazov, was a report by Iliya Slavchev, special correspondent, entitled: "Crime Against Justice" which was published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO's Issue No 69 on 9 March 1988, under the rubric: "Law, the Individual, and Legality." The report dealt with the case of Gergana Dimova, head of the Supreme Court's Registration Department, who, together with a group of employees from the Supreme Court and with other citizens, was prosecuted by the Sofia City Court of Justice in 1985.

The indictment that the defendants had accepted bribes over a period of several years in exchange for which they had secretly removed documents on prison sentences from the court archives and subsequently destroyed them, was confirmed at the trial. The Sofia City Court of Justice pronounced respective verdicts against the defendants in question, who are already serving their sentences.

Throughout the 7 months that have elapsed since the publication of the aforementioned RABOTNICHESKO DELO report, the Supreme Court did nothing to refute either the facts or their interpretation contained in our report. Instead of this, Ivan Palazov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, took advantage of the opportunity to attack our editorial board in front of millions of Bulgarian television viewers, while no RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative took part in the program. If it is true that our report contained 17 inaccuracies, why did the Supreme Court refrain from submitting a correction in writing to our editorial board? We would like to recall, that the decree on critical publications applies to everyone who is subjected to criticism.

We are far from assuming that RABOTNICHESKO DELO publications are infallible and that we never allow any omissions or inaccuracies to occur in our articles and reports. Nevertheless, we do not accept the unjustified and unfounded accusations that Ivan Palazov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, launched against RABOTNICHESKO DELO on Bulgarian television. He stated that our daily "is trying to build up an atmosphere of hostility against the law protection organs, that it is setting these organs against each other, and instigating the public against the law protection organs." When the critical remarks of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial about the specialized law protection organs were discussed during the Panorama television program, we would at least have expected some self-criticism on part of these organs.

We are ready to publish the stand of the Supreme Court on the critical materials in question. Let us engage in a correct and sensible dialogue on the subject.

Glasnost requires dialogue based on facts and arguments—it calls for correct behavior and an ethical approach.

Wildlife Reserves Increase Noted

AU2710171288 Sofia BTA in English 1621 GMT 27 Oct 88

["Bulgarian Hunters, Anglers End 11th Congress"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 27 (BTA)—Mr Stefan Manolov was elected the new president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Hunters and Anglers Union.

The organisation, which has a membership of about 200,000 hunters and as many anglers, completed its 11th congress here today. [passage omitted]

As indicated in the report, the period since the last congress has seen a considerable expansion and improvement of the facilities for game-breeding and management. The planned breeding targets for the number of wild fowl have been met: 600,000 pheasants, 50,000 quails and 130,000 wild ducks. Big game reserves have increased substantially from 1982: roe deer from 93,500 to 106,500, red deer from 3,200 to 8,600, wild boars from 19,400 to 30,700, mouflons from 330 to 770, fallow deer from 710 to 2,100. [passage omitted]

Czech National Front Cadre Changes Announced

LD0311121788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] A plenary session of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR started this morning in the Obecni Dum in Prague. Lubos Lidicky reports:

[Begin Lidicky recording] Greater activity by National Front organizations is the main item on the plenum agenda. As stressed in a report, the main requirement of the time is to link fundamental changes in the economic mechanism with extensive democratization of society, the perfection of forms of political leadership, and the enrichment of cultural and intelectual life.

The restructuring program has had no parallel since February 1948 from the point of view of extent, depth of changes, and the challenging character of tasks, said Rudolf Dusek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR. The varied character of its activities enables the development of various activities affecting public life, and this gives the National Front a broad opportunity. This creates the possibility of implementing a socialist pluralism of interests, views, and proposals. In this sense, the National Front is an open system for all activities which are developing on the basis of socialism and striving for its strengthening and perfection. This is the main thought from the report by the Presidium.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the National Front discussed and approved some cadre changes: Comrade Josef Kempny, chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR, has asked to be released from his post.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak SR, proposed that Karel Urbanek, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, become the new chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR. This was unanimously approved by the plenum. [end recording]

Urbanek Comments on Front Restructuring

LD0311224888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Excerpts] A plenary meeting of the Czech National Front Central Committee took place today in Prague and was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Following the proceedings our correspondent, Lubos Lidicky, interviewed Comrade Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and newly elected chairman of the Czech National Front Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Lidicky] Comrade Chairman, the restructuring program has opened up a broad scope for the National Front. What tasks will the National Front organizations be concentrating on in the immediate future?

[Urbanek] The session adopted the orientation of the main tasks of the Czech SR National Front Central Committee whose implementation ought to contribute to enhancing the involvement of the National Front organizations in fundamental changes geared toward the further development of socialist society and to the development of socialist democracy. Among these fundamental tasks is that of promoting and developing in every way the activities of the primary organizations, because that is where the decisive activity takes place, that is where the link is between the primary organizations and their members.

Another task is to carry out political education work on a differentiated basis, directed toward understanding the current processes of restructuring so that we make faster progress.

A further task is to bring up the younger generation in particular to respect the achievements aleady reached, to respect other people, to realize the family's responsibility for children's upbringing, and to show patriotism and also internationalism and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Among its other important tasks are those of developing the peace movement, strengthening the cohesion of the peace movement, and applying new peace activities and all effective forms of education. In everything, it must work toward galvanizing the members of the National Front organizations into further involvement in political life and in the management and administration of this state. [end recording]

Czech National Front Pledges Support for CPCZ

LD0311174588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Excerpts] In Prague today the Czech National Front Central Committee met Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, and other officials. [passage omitted]

A letter was sent from the Czech National Front Central Committee meeting to the CPCZ Central Committee. The letter states the following: The plenary session discussed the results of the work of National Front

bodies and affiliated organizations in strengthening socialist democracy, and current progress in implementing the tasks arising out of the documents on activating them further. The Czech National Front will continue to play its part in speeding up society's socioeconomic development. Restructuring has become an inspiration for activating our citizens and for the broad application of the National Front's role in our political system.

The letter from the Czech National Front Central Committee goes on to state that in recent days, during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the independent Czechoslovak state, Nationalization Day, and the adoption of the law on the Czechoslovak Federation, our citizens confirmed their positive attitude toward CPCZ policy. The declaration of 28 October as a national day of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was welcomed unequivocally. Similarly, there was overwhelming condemnation of the attempts to misuse this anniversary for antisocialist activities which not only damaged the interests of our state, but have nothing in common with democracy either, which we understand as the unity of rights and duties. Consequently, the Czech National Front Central Committee, on the basis of letters, views, and opinions expressed by a number of citizens and organizations, rejects the attempts by the overt and covert enemies of socialism who are seeking ways of inciting unrest and dissatisfaction. We express full support for the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the recent sessions of the party Central Committee and the determination to implement them through our day-to-day work, concludes the letter sent from the proceedings of the Czech National Front Central Committee to the CPCZ Central Committee.

Government Notes Slowdown in Production

LD0311232788 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec informed the government today of his recent working visit to the Soviet Union and stressed the interest of both sides in extensive cooperation in all spheres.

The government also discussed draft principles which are to regulate financial economic instruments in foreign trade to be applied from 1990.

Dealing with this year's state plan and budget, it stated that after a rather favourable situation at the beginning of the year, the rate of growth of production is now slowing down, the quality of goods is not satisfactory and negative trends appear in capital construction.

The government discussed a bill on the powers of federal organs of central administration. The bill defines a new role of state bodies in the coming stage of the reconstruction process and the role of a new unified managing centre of economic and social development of the country.

It discussed and approved Czechoslovakia's approach to an international convention on simplifying and harmonizing customs regimes, and a report on supplies of fuels and power in the 1988-1989 winter period.

Jakes Concludes Central Slovakia Tour

Hears Miners' Complaints

AU0111164688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[Jozef Krska/Milos Niederland report: "CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes on a Working Visit to the Central Slovak District: Changing Things Around Us, but Primarily Changing Ourselves; Talk With the Representatives of Regional Party, State, and Economic Organizations; Entry in the City Guest Book; Exchange of Views in the Computer Technology Plant Communal Enterprise in Banska Bystrica; Meeting the Party Aktiv in Martin"]

[Excerpts] Banska Bystrica/Martin (By our editors)—CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes began his working visit to the Central Slovak Region by meeting the representatives of regional party, state, and economic agencies and organizations in Banska Bystrica. He was accompanied by Eugen Turzo, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL).

The visit began in a truly workmanlike manner (which has already become a habit). The opening words by Jan Gajdosik, leading secretary of the CPSL Central Slovak Regional Committee, were immediately followed by a discussion.

"I want to speak about certain manifestations of a cold and insensitive attitude toward the miners," Frantisek Verbich, hero of socialist labor and chairman of the CPSL All-Plant Committee in the Novaky mine, said in opening the discussion. He spoke of the popular view that miners enjoy unjustified preferential treatment—whereas (according to him) the very opposite is true. He pointed out the different importance of high state awards given to workers and, for instance, to artists. He said that it is essential to step up investments in coal extraction, expressed agreement with the outcome of the latest party Central Committee sessions, and asked why the names of the released comrades had not been cited, and why those who had failed to fulfill the plans are "punished" by being appointed to diplomatic posts.

The entire talk was conducted in this critical, but also self-critical, spirit of a search for ways out. [passage omitted]

Several statements in the discussion concerned the bad situation in the market—the shortage of certain kinds of commodities, price increases, etc. Proposals were also made on how to improve the situation. [passage omitted]

On the whole, the tenor of the discussion was in support of restructuring; the participants expressed willingness to resolve the accumulated problems under the party's leadership, supported the idea of convening the party congress at an earlier date than originally planned, and also supported other results of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session deliberations. Comrade Jakes most appreciated their showing how they are overcoming the shortcomings.

Comrade Jakes also spoke during the discussion; he recalled that the participants have gathered at a time when the 70th anniversary of the Republic is being celebrated. He stated that on this occasion, too, it is essential to appraise the accomplishments to date, while noting the mistakes which should not be repeated. He pointed out the historic significance of cooperation between the fraternal Czech and Slovak nations and the need to develop our common federal state.

"Many problems have been mentioned here," he said. All socialist countries are now looking for ways to accelerate development, for ways to operate under new conditions. We are getting our inspiration from the USSR—but we must proceed from our own conditions.

This makes us ask: How should we understand restructuring? True, we must change things around us—but above all we must change ourselves. It is important to enlist the people's broad participation in the decision-making process—to activate them so that they will proceed from the positions of true economic managers, so that they will really rule. The important thing, Comrade Jakes stressed, is the decentralization of management, with all its consequences (including risks), but this has not been grasped everywhere. One must realize that it is impossible to go on waiting for somebody "from the outside" to come and solve all problems, even those which are unambiguously our own affair. We have accelerated the restructuring steps and reorganized the center. Everything must be done on a legal basis, otherwise no progress is possible. Many laws have already been adopted and other laws are under preparation. Thus, the question is: Can anything be done in this situation? Things are being done already, and we must realize that we all, every single one of us, can do a great deal for restructuring. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes conceded that consultations about the proposed appointments to specific functions should be held both with the collectives in which the proposed candidates have been working and which therefore know them, and also with the party organizations. This course is not always followed. CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Jakes also dealt with the remark about the relocation of certain functionaries to other posts, saying that this applies to people who had not acquitted themselves in their offices and had proved unable to cope with the new demands, but who are both honorable and diligent and can be useful in some other job. As for the correct appreciation of the miners' work, he said it is true that there is a certain preferential treatment. The thing is to adhere to the adopted measures and make good use of the released means while simultaneously taking appropriate measures to reduce the standard consumption of energy and materials, including coal. The significance of ecology was also pointed out during the discussion. The solution of environmental problems lies (inter alia) in reducing coal consumption and changing the structure of the industry. Comrade Jakes stressed that restructuring has not only advocates—some people also want to use it against socialism. We know of cases in which one and the same individual has acted in the name of several organizations, aiming his activities against socialism, and not at improving it.

Later Comrade Milos Jakes visited the Banska Bystrica City National Committee, where he met with representatives of the city's political and public life. [passage omitted]

In addressing them, Comrade Milos Jakes expressed satisfaction with the work of the aktiv of functionaries in Banska Bystrica. He stressed that their primary duty is to establish conditions for the citizens' satisfaction and to make better use of the enhanced powers of national committees. In rearing the younger generation, one should not forget the city's rich and glorious traditions; one should cultivate the right attitudes among its young citizens, and the feeling that they share responsibility for the city's further development.

In conclusion, Comrade Milos Jakes signed the city's guest book and received the symbolic key to the city gates from the municipal representatives. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes and his entourage spent the afternoon among the working people of the Computer Technology Plant (ZVT) communal enterprise in Banska Bystrica. [passage omitted] After inspecting the production facilities, Comrade Milos Jakes attended a meeting with the leading economic and party functionaries of the enterprise, chairmen of CPSL primary organizations, and selected heads of the collectives of socialist labor brigades. [passage omitted]

Early in the evening of the same day Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, visited the Martin District. At a meeting with the party aktiv he was briefed on the past and present history of the Turec area. The discussion which followed dealt with a vast circle of problems (new forms of national committee work, etc.) and with the results, but also shortcomings, of district activities (lack of comprehensive housing construction in the district city, etc.). [passage omitted] A demand was voiced that the current investment policy in the republic be reappraised. The criticism about the failure to fulfill the milk production plan, the shortage of biscuits, etc., was in actual fact self-criticism. A demand for finding a more rational path for distributing agricultural products to the consumer was again voiced. For

example, in the morning the members of the regional aktiv spoke about a shortage of potatoes in shops, and later the agricultural workers in Martin complained that nobody is interested in potatoes...

Comrade Jakes explained in detail how essential it is to see life and the processes around us from a new perspective. The basic task is to activate the people, fulfill the demand of socialism, base the people's remuneration on the results of their work, and generally to start doing all one can today—to reduce material consumption in production, to cut down useless stocks, and so on and so forth.

More on Martin Visit

AU2910185588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK/zr report: "Common Path of Our Nations; Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary, in Martin District"]

[Excerpts] Martin— On Wednesday [26 October], the second and last day of his working visit to the Central Slovak Region, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes visited the Heavy Engineering Works (ZTS) combine in Martin, and then went to the secondary vocational engineering school attached to the combine. He also inspected the Klement Gottwald Museum of Revolutionary Press in Martin-Vrutky. That afternoon Comrade Milos Jakes addressed a rally in Martin in honor of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak Republic.

The ZTS in Martin became a combine on 1 July; it now rallies 24 production, research-development, and special-purpose organizations throughout the CSSR. The program of the newly established state enterprise is based on the traditions of many years—for more than 20 years the ZTS trademark has been spreading the good name of Czechoslovak engineering throughout the world. According to Jozef Uhrik, director of the state enterprise, the combine's effective business activities are based on its high specialization and broad cooperation.

Comrade Jakes showed interest in the progress achieved by the enterprise in preparing for the transition to the new economic mechanism. [passage omitted] In the vocational school, Comrade Jakes briefly halted to chat with one of the 112 Vietnamese pupils whom the school is training for future jobs. [passage omitted]

Later Comrade Milos Jakes visited the Matica Slovenska—this symbol of the Slovak nation and its existence, which came into being as the outcome of the nation's fight for its national identity; its revivalist and enlightenment activities have greatly contributed toward raising the Slovak people's educational and cultural standards. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes expressed appreciation of the merits of the Matica Slovenska in spreading past and present cultural values, in rearing socialist man and in intensifying the ties between Czechs and Slovaks. He wished the Matica great success in its further work.

Later CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Jakes visited the Klement Gottwald Museum of Revolutionary Press in Martin-Vrutky, where Gottwald, this outstanding representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement, worked as Slovak press editor in the years 1922-23.

—Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, and other representatives also took part in a festive rally held in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Martin on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Martin Declaration. [passage omitted]

The participants in the rally heard the text of a letter sent to the rally by CSSR President Gustav Husak, who stated: "I hold the declaration of 30 October 1918 in high esteem—it is one of the cornerstones of the Czechoslovak state. We will be recalling the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia throughout our fatherland with a feeling of respect for our history, having learned a profound lesson from the successes and tragedies of our people. I wish you many successes."

Comrades Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, and other representatives of our party and state agencies paid tribute to the memory of the fallen heroes by laying wreaths at the Slovak National Uprising Memorial in Martin.

On the same day Milos Jakes also inspected the works of our contemporary graphic artists in the Turec Gallery in Martin.

Late in the afternoon Comrade Milos Jakes left for Prague.

Federal Assembly Chamber To Convene 8-9 Nov

AU2810142788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers Convened"]

[Text] Prague—A session of the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly, presided over by Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra, has decided to convene the 11th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations on 8-9 November to discuss the programmatic statement of the CSSR Government. In accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the CSSR Government, after having been appointed on 12 October 1988—is bound to appear before the Federal Assembly's next meeting, submit its program to it, and ask for a vote of confidence.

On the agenda there will also be the report of the CSSR Supreme Court and the CSSR Prosecutor General on the state of socialist legality and five government draft laws, the majority of which are connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism of our economy.

'Impaired Environmental Conditions' Discussed

AU2710134788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, and Telephone..." column]

[Text] The participants in the conference which opened in Stary Smokovec this Monday [24 October] are discussing the social aspects of environmental creation and protection. CSSR, FRG, and USSR experts have found that about one-third of the entire CSSR population inhabits areas with greatly impaired environmental conditions. Among other things, the air quality is connected with the CSSR's high consumption of electric power (almost 30 percent higher than in developed industrial countries). CSSR agriculture also consumes inordinate amounts of industrial fertilizers (about 260 kg of pure nutritive matter per hectare) in the interest of self-sufficient production of basic foodstuffs.

Husak Appoints New State Bank President

LD2710152088 Prague CTK in English 1302 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 27 (CTK)—At the proposal of the Czechoslovak Government, President Gustav Husak appointed today Svatopluk Potac president of the Czechoslovak State Bank. At the same time he recalled Jan Stejskal from this post in connection with his appointment member of the federal government.

Husak, Angola's Dos Santos Exchange Toasts

Husak States Support

AU0211151188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

["Speech by Gustav Husak," CSSR president, at the festive luncheon in honor of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, held at the Prague Castle on 30 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, esteemed Angolan comrades, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary and on my own behalf I again extend the most cordial welcome to you and to the members of your entourage in our fatherland—in these historic halls of the Prague Castle.

We regard your current visit to Czechoslovakia as yet more proof of the friendship between the people of the CSSR and the People's Republic of Angola, testifying to the long tradition of our contacts, which is based on the well-proven principles of mutual respect and equality, international solidarity, and comradely cooperation.

We are glad of all the good and useful work accomplished during the past 7 years in implementing the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between our states, which we jointly signed during your first visit to Czechoslovakia and which became a sound basis for lively contacts in the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural spheres. We particularly value the expanding cooperation between the CPCZ and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] -Labor Party and between the social organizations of our two countries. Our cooperation in improving the qualifications of Angolan national cadres within the working collectives of our plants and enterprises also shows promising development.

Esteemed comrades, Czechoslovakia is separated from Angola by thousands of kilometers; however, this geographical distance does not prevent our people's international feelings from being greatly affected by all that is happening in this friendly country. We are following with great attention and sympathies the Angolan People's everyday revolutionary struggle to set up the foundations for building a new, socially just society and your people's heroic defense of your revolutionary achievements.

We support the constructive effort of the People's Republic of Angola to provide guarantees for its own security, and to acquire independence for the people of neighboring Namibia in harmony with Security Council Resolution No 435. The success of this effort will be a basic contribution on the road toward eliminating the hotbeds of tension in the southern part of the African continent.

Esteemed comrades, we in Czechoslovakia are currently recalling the 70th anniversary of the emergence of our independent state of Czechs and Slovaks. We are celebrating this significant jubilee in the life of our nations while mobilizing our entire party and all our working people for solving the topical tasks of socialist construction. In harmony with the resolution of the CPCZ's 17th Congress and the latest sessions of its Central Committee, we have embarked on the road of basically restructuring the economic mechanism and developing socialist democracy as the main direction of further advancement of our socialist society. In our view, these new approaches provide an answer to the requirements of the current stage of building socialism in our fatherland; at the same time we regard them as our contribution toward consolidating the socialist community, strengthening its positions, and enhancing its attractiveness in the world. The goals which we have set ourselves can be reached solely under the conditions of preserving world peace.

That is why the Czechoslovak people are resolutely implementing the joint peace program of the socialist countries. We are also contributing our own initiatives toward the effort to create comprehensive international security. We have sincerely welcomed the beginning of the process of real disarmament after the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons. We are firmly convinced that, thanks to the permanent efforts of the Soviet Union, it will be gradually possible to establish realistic prerequisites for further steps on the path toward disarmament and detente and toward strengthening security in the world.

As a country situated in the heart of Europe, Czechoslovakia has not only come out with a significant and specific initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contacts between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries—we are also devoting constant attention to all aspects of international development in all areas of the world. We resolutely promote the just settlement of regional conflicts and condemn the neocolonialist exploitation of developing countries by world imperialism—an exploitation which, together with the burden of their foreign debts, is limiting the possibilities of their socioeconomic advancement.

I would particularly like to stress the unwavering solidarity of socialist Czechoslovakia with the fight waged by your country and all other Frontline States against the RSA's aggressive policy of destabilization. We feel deep respect for the foreign policy pursued by the People's Angola, and for the principled standpoints promoted both within the Nonaligned Movement and on UN territory.

Esteemed comrades, we are happy to state that our talks with Comrade dos Santos have confirmed to date both the existence of a broad scope for further expanding and enriching the contacts between our parties and countries, and also the existence of a bilateral will to develop maximum efforts to raise our mutual relations to a qualitatively higher level with the use of our present experience, but also by making use of new, nontraditional forms of cooperation.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak people I assure you that we will continue to firmly stand on the side of the Angolan Revolution. We wish all people in the People's Republic of Angola peace and new successes in their work toward the comprehensive upsurge of their fatherland.

Permit me to raise my glass and drink the health of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, and to drink to the health of all Angolan friends present here;

—to drink to the development and consolidation of friendship between the CPCZ and MPLA-Labor Party, and between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Angola;

—to drink to the further successes of the forces of peace and progress throughout the world!

Dos Santos Thanks Husak

AU0211175088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

["Speech by Jose Eduardo dos Santos," president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the Popular Movement For the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, at the luncheon held in his honor at the Prague Castle on 30 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Milos Jakes, esteemed Comrade Gustav Husak, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, I would like to thank you, and through you the people and Government of Czechoslovakia, for the warm reception and friendly cordial hospitality accorded to us since the very moment of our arrival in Prague.

We feel honored by the words of greeting addressed just now to the Angolan people, to me, and to the delegation accompanying me; we are convinced that our present visit to your country will further strengthen the already traditional ties of friendship and cooperation between our nations and governments.

We consider the results achieved during the many years of fruitful economic, technical, and cultural cooperation between our two governments to be good. Nevertheless, we think that our joint effort and will to expand this cooperation have not yet led to a successful utilization of all economic and technical possibilities of our two countries.

The reasons why we have not yet achieved a satisfactory level of cooperation are manifold; those concerning our country lie primarily in military instability and a difficult economic and financial situation.

We nevertheless believe that the development of specific cooperation on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation (which has existed between our two countries since 1981, and which will receive further incentives from the present visit) would benefit both our countries.

The People's Republic of Angola believes that it is important to continue the contacts already established on the level of a mixed commission in order to provide for the participation of Czechoslovak enterprises in various development projects in the spheres of industry, agriculture, power industry, and trade, but also in other spheres of common interest.

As you surely know, an Economic and Financial Normalization Program is currently being implemented in our country; it is aimed at establishing conditions for a speedy economic and financial revival with the use of the possibilities and resources at the disposal of our country.

The restructuring of our economic management system, together with the realistic policy of interlinking all economic factors and the financial normalization of the country within the economic and financial program, will create favorable conditions both for the energetic participation of all forces in the development process, and for foreign investments.

The process of solving the issues of southwest Africa (this should be achieved in the quadripartite talks now under way between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States) is also an important factor in the successful implementation of the Economic and Financial Normalization Program and the resulting achievement of economic stability in our country.

The results which have already been achieved allow us to claim that the comprehensive agreement providing for the fulfillment of Resolution No 435/778 on Namibia's independence and security in Angola is feasible.

Despite the adverse experience as a result of the failure to comply with the Lusaka agreement and also other agreements concluded by South Africa, the adopted international guarantees fill us with confidence that South Africa will become more seriously involved in the process of detente in the southwestern part of Angola.

On the other hand we are convinced that the conditions set by Angola (particularly with regard to the nonassistance to armed gangs operating inside our territory) will make it possible to resolve the problem of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) within the framework of a policy of amnesty and national harmony adopted by our government.

The interference of foreign forces in this matter, which hampers its peaceful solution, is also aimed at raising the price to be paid by the Angolan people for successfully protecting their sovereignty in the face of this interference, a price which already comprises hundreds of thousands of dead, wounded, and displaced persons, to say nothing of incalculable economic damages and mental and physical sufferings inflicted on the nation by the war situation. [sentence as published].

The experience of certain African countries (which were confronted by the same problems as those currently confronting Angola) has become an important source of inspiration for our government in the search for a peaceful solution of the matter.

Making use of this African experience, we proceed to act in the spirit of justice and humaneness within the framework of models and traditions of the nations on our continent. That is why we reject the attempts of certain political circles to foist on us a solution never used in the past by any other African country in resolving its domestic problems.

Although the international situation continues to be complicated, it is currently characterized by a relative detente (thanks to the positive impact of the mutual rapprochement which we witness in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and also to the new perspective in viewing the paths leading to the solution of so-called regional conflicts). Restructuring, or perestroyka, in the Soviet Union is in a way a factor of revolutionary changes in the methodology of building socialism; its positive impact can be felt in international relations.

These efforts, combined with the results already achieved, permit us to view mankind's future with greater optimism. This establishes subjective conditions for concentrating the energy and resources of our planet for the benefit of the nations' prosperity and happiness.

However, the fact that certain regional conflicts have so far shown no prospect of a solution and are clearly harming the contemporary peace process causes us some concern. Apartheid in South Africa continues to be the bearer of cruel injustice, and in the Middle East the demand for the Palestinian people's basic rights is being suppressed by brutal repressive actions. That is why the international community must not become discouraged, but must continue granting support to the fight waged by these suppressed nations.

Comrade Milos Jakes, Comrade Gustav Husak, our stay in Czechoslovakia has provided us with an opportunity for exchanging views on the bilateral relations between our countries, as well as on the international situation.

I am convinced that we will find ways to permit us to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our nations and governments. The feasible political stability in South Africa will permit the Angolan people to devote greater efforts to national revival and will open new horizons in the sphere of relations between our two countries.

Permit me therefore to ask us to jointly raise our glasses in a toast to the health and friendship between our nations and governments.

I thank you for your attention.

Lenart Comments on Visit, Talks in GDR

LD0311172588 Prague CTK in English
1632 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin Nov 3 (CTK correspondent)—Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart ended today a three-day working visit to the GDR.

In an interview given to Czechoslovak journalists in Berlin he said his talks in the GDR focused on the results of talks between Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and SED General Secretary Erich Honecker. "We do not embellish the results of cooperation but we see large possibilities of its further development", he said.

Referring to prospects of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, Jozef Lenart said that both Czechoslovakia and the GDR should much more boldly use its new forms, especially joint scientific and research centres, joint ventures and joint trade organizations. There exist wide possibilities in electronics and automation, biotechnology, genetics and cybernetics.

Speaking about cooperation within CMEA, the Czechoslovak representative said he held talks with his GDR counterparts on a slow advance in using the possibilities arising from the 44th CMEA session in Prague. Suggestions made by Mikhail Gorbachev, Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker concerning their countries' cooperation within CMEA must be used at the level of state bodies, scientific institutions, industrial plants, trade organizations and in economy in general, he added.

SRV Education Minister Pays Visit

Received in Prague

AU2810144988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Jana Synkova, Czech minister of education, youth, and physical culture, received Tran Hong Quan, SRV minister of higher and vocational education, who is paying an official visit to the CSSR in the function of chairman of the Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Friendship Committee, in Prague on Tuesday [25 October].

Signs Cooperation Protocol

AU2810122088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Oct 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Contacts (CSMS), received Tran Hong Quan, chairman of the Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Friendship Society and minister of higher and vocational education, in Prague on Wednesday [26 October]. They discussed the possibilities of further cooperation. On the same day Jiri Jira, chairman of the CSMS Vietnamese Committee and the CSSR's first deputy minister of transport and communications, and Tran Hong Quan signed a protocol on cooperation between the two organizations in the years 1989-90.

North Bohemian Delegation Returns From DPRK

AU2810122288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Oct 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A delegation of the North Bohemian Region, headed by Vaclav Sipek, leading secretary of the CPCZ's Regional Committee, returned from its partnership visit to the South Pyongyang Province in the DPRK on Wednesday [26 October]. During its visit it discussed and specified the further development of partnership relations between the two regions.

Jakes, Husak Send Condolences to Nicaragua

AU2810140388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Condolences to Managua"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak have sent to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Commission and the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the president of the Republic of Nicaragua, a telegram of condolences in connection with the natural catastrophe.

Honecker, Mittag Meet CSSR's Lenart

LD0311162988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The proposals put forward by Erich Honecker during his talks yesterday with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, on further deepening the friendship and cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ, as well as between the GDR and the CSSR, were today paid great tribute by Guenter Mittag, member of the SED Politburo and Central Committee secretary, in a final round of talks.

During the CPCZ delegation's visit, Guenter Mittag and Jozef Lenart reasserted their firm resolution to fulfill the proposals put forward by both sides to purposefully improve scientific, technical, and economic cooperation. This was particularly true concerning microelectronics, biotechnology, machine-tool and textile-machinery construction, flexible automation in production departments, and oil refining cooperation. During their stay in Berlin, the delegation held an extensive exchange of information and opinions at the SED Central Committee Socialist Economic Management Central Institute. They familiarized themselves with the production of optoelectronic components at the television electronics works in Berlin.

Soviet-GDR Talks on Scientific Cooperation

LD0311205288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1355 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today the GDR-Soviet Standing Subcommission for Economic and Technical Cooperation between the GDR and the USSR ended its 39th session. They discussed measures for fulfilling the agreements achieved by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at their meeting in Moscow in September 1988 on speeding up the improvement of specialization and cooperation in science and technology as well as jointly reaching top achievements in key technologies.

The resolutions envision short-term contracts between GDR combines and institutions in the USSR on cooperation on the development, production, and supply of modern equipment for technical ceramics, biotechnology, and membrane technology.

Tasks in addition to the existing governmental agreement for the automation of assembly processes were established. The research work agreed between scientists of the two countries in the area of superconduction at higher temperatures was confirmed. The subcommission discussed the preparations for the plan coordination for the 1991-95 period in the area of science and technology.

The delegations were headed by Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology, and Kirill Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Minister Reichelt To Visit FRG 'Next Year'

AU0211123288 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Nov 88 p 10

[Ulrich Reitz report: "Elbe Border: Does SED Renounce Linking?"]

[Text] Sofia—GDR Environment Minister Reichelt will visit the FRG next year. Together with FRG Environment Minister Toepfer, he will visit the Envitec Environmental Technology Fair. Reichelt said that he has accepted Toepfer's invitation to this effect. He will visit the fair with Toepfer and use the opportunity to discuss the "next steps" of cooperation in environmental policy, Reichelt told DIE WELT. In Sofia, on the fringe of an environment ministers' meeting, it thus became clear that relations between the two German states in the field of environmental policy are moving again.

In the summer they reached a stalemate after East Berlin had established a link between improving the water of the River Elbe and settling the disputed border at the river during Toepfer's visit to the GDR. Toepfer signaled that developments have come to pass which have deprived the Elbe border of its importance as a precondition for progress in environmental policy. Thus, the Elbe border seems to have lost its role as a "key-bolt" to environmental projects. Minister of the Chancellery Schaeuble is conducting negotiations with East Berlin on the border along the River Elbe.

That it has been possible to get around the problem of the Elbe border is confirmed by the fact that, according to Toepfer and Reichelt, this topic did not play any role in the exchange of views of the two environment ministers. Reichelt said that he will not discuss an issue that was not broached in the talk with Toepfer. Reichelt did not answer the question of whether—regardless of yesterday's exchange of views—East Berlin still considers the Elbe border as a basic precondition for progress in mutual environmental protection. It is, however, "too early" to already expect specific agreements, such as on the potential delivery of environmental technology to the GDR, he said. But "there is progress in intra-German relations. This also applies to environmental policy."

Toepfer told journalists that Bonn would put into question his seriousness "if we were to accept the linking of issues." The FRG Government is respected because of its "clear attitude." The German delegation in Sofia saw a connection between the emerging movement and Kohl's visit to Moscow, in which the environment minister had also participated. The visit has had a "signal effect" on the GDR, it was said.

According to reports in Sofia, negotiations between the FRG and Bulgaria on an environmental protection agreement might be concluded by spring 1989. Sofia is very interested in the agreement, which is to establish the state framework for specific agreements. Bulgaria wants to invest more intensively in environmental technologies.

Protocol Signed With PRC on Nuclear Safety

AU0211150588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Beijing (ADN)—A protocol on nuclear safety cooperation was signed in Beijing on Friday [28 October] by Professor Georg Sitzlack, state secretary and president of the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection, and Professor Jiang Shengjie, head of the PRC State Office for Nuclear Safety. Thus cooperation between the two countries is being expanded to include the area of nuclear safety and radiation protection, as agreed upon by the general secretaries of the SED and CPC Central Committees, Erich Honecker and Zhao Ziyang.

The most important points of such cooperation will be the legal bases and conditions of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, criteria and methods regarding the assessment of the safety of nuclear reactors, the exercise of state control, and radiation protection in nuclear reactors and their environment. State Secretary Prof Sitzlack and the delegation led by him held expert talks in the PRC State Office for Nuclear Safety in Beijing and Shanghai, in nuclear facilities in Beijing, and at the nuclear power plant that is under construction near Qinshan.

Winter Holds Talks With GCC Official

AU0311145488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Kuwait (ADN)—'Abdallah Bisharah, secretary general of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], and Heinz-Dieter Winter, GDR deputy foreign minister, have advocated effective steps in the disarmament process and in the political settlement of regional conflicts. During an exchange of opinions in a communicative atmosphere in Kuwait on Saturday [29 October], the two politicians expressed their satisfaction at the encouraging improvement in the international climate.

Heinz-Dieter Winter outlined the activities of the GDR, which are aimed at strengthening peace and disarmament. 'Abdallah Bisharah briefed his interlocutor on the GCC's support for the peaceful settlement of the Iraq-Iran conflict, observing the legitimate interests of both sides. In this context, 'Abdallah Bisharah praised the GDR's attitude in support of stable peace in the Gulf area, and expressed his appreciation for the GDR's constructive contribution to improving international relations.

'Abdallah Bisharah emphasized that security and stability in the Gulf area have to be based on good-neighborly relations, with respect for the principles of equal rights and noninterference in the internal affairs of the neigboring countries in the Gulf area. Both politicians advocated the continuation of the political dialogue and of the contacts between the GDR and the GCC.

Cooperation With Argentina Discussed

AU0211144388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Oct p 3

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deepening of economic and trade relations between the GDR and Argentina was the subject of talks held in Berlin by the chairmen of the GDR-Argentinian government commission, Wilhelm Bastian, deputy foreign trade minister, and Alieto Guadagni, public works minister of the province of Buenos Aires. Both sides agreed that there are good opportunities for industrial and scientific-technological cooperation.

Trade Protocol With Albania Signed in Berlin

LD0411100488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deputy foreign trade ministers of the GDR and Albania, Dietrich Lemke and Konstandin Hoxha, have signed a protocol in Berlin on mutual deliveries of goods in 1989. It foresees a further increase in goods exchange on the basis of the long-term trade agreement.

The GDR will supply Albania with machines and equipment as well as products of the agricultural machinery and vehicle industries. The traditional export of products from the electrical engineering, medical, and laboratory technology as well as chemical and metallurgy industries will be continued.

Chrome ore, copper cable, textiles, fruit and vegetable preserves, and other agricultural products will be imported from Albania.

Central Committee Views Economic, Other Issues

Berecz Delivers Report

LD0211225788 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—On Tuesday and Wednesday, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed a report by Janos Berecz on the home political situation and the tasks facing the party.

By way of introduction, Mr Berecz pointed out that Hungary's historic mission was to create a socialist market economy at a rapid pace parallel with the basic conditions for a democratic political order of socialism and set up an appropriate system of institutions.

He said that during the first few months of implementing the programme adopted by the party conference, the home political situation had also shown tendencies stemming from the unsatisfactory pace of the reform process and obstructing implementation of the reforms. Public feeling now was considerably worse than a few months ago. There were sustained symptoms of economic crisis, and this year the standard of living and living conditions had deteriorated more rapidly than before. Inadequate economic performance was giving rise to social tensions. The population, including a major proportion of party members, expected too much from the changes decided at the party conference.

Confidence in the party and the government had noticeably dwindled. Broad strata of society had less and less confidence in central efforts to change the situation. The approaches to the present conditions were different. Some people spoke about chaos, turmoil and the shrinking positions of socialism, while others wished to enforce their interests in the newly-opened political fields. Some attitudes were exclusively based on bourgeois and other ideas.

In the course of implementing the programme of the party conference, there were two serious dangers, Mr Berecz continued. One was the possibility of regression. Behind such endeavours were conservatism, incomprehension and intentions to promote a return to earlier practices. The other activity, aimed at seizing positions of power, could be experienced primarily on the side of bourgeois radical and liberal forces, which saw the chief possibility for making headway by undermining the party's position. Both went explicitly against the reform.

Next, Janos Berecz discussed the position and political practice of the party.

He said the party was in a state of transformation. In preparing for the May party conference, members had voiced their dissatisfaction, criticism and loss of prospects and confidence as a sign of refusing to identify themselves completely with the policy of the past 15 years. What led to this conviction was the gap between declaration and accomplishment in the aims of the 11th, 12th and 13th congresses, which members experienced in falling standards of living and loss of reputation in society. Their intention to change was strengthened by the fact that their role was limited primarily to carrying out decisions and, as a result, they were not able to have a say in the formulation of policies. So, they did not, and do not, feel responsible for the erroneous decisions of the past 15 years, the present mistakes and the resulting implications.

It was characteristic of transitional periods that social management still had no strategy that could be broken down into concrete moves, most of the ideology serving as a foundation also had yet to be worked out.

There were problems in the relationship between the party and the masses. The party had not been able to hold a substantive dialogue with considerable groups of the working class, mainly party members, on important home political issues. Over the past 10 or 15 years, the party could not find the bridges to build appropriate relations with professional people in keeping with the altered circumstances. Agricultural workers still stuck to the party's policy because of the collective and personal traits of agrarian policy. At present, agricultural workers and the agrarian sector were one of the major factors of social stability in Hungary. As the fate of its youth was a key issue of the nation's future, it was Hungary's historic responsibility to pursue a policy favouring young people, Mr Berecz went on.

Further on, Janos Berecz spoke about the problem of a one-party or multi-party system. He said a decisive factor in the pursuit of alternative ways and means today is that the economic political practice followed by the party over the last 15 years had increasingly estranged the country from the main current of world development. The result was a sharp reduction in the standard of living, and this practice proved unable to promise a stable future for the nation.

The real problem with the alternative groupings was not their coming into existence as such, but the severe tension accompanying their formation. That was why the newly-founded organizations were also expressing just criticism, and seeking their answers in a way quite different from the party's. The prinicpal method of changing the situation was to carry out a turn in economic policy aimed a altering the economic conditions causing social tension.

The economic management reform, introduced in 1968, was a remarkable stage on the Hungarian road to socialist construction, and the beginning of the rejection of the economic model bearing Stalin's name. However, Hungary had not broken with the historically-developed

political system, nor with the whole of the economic model. The party was not entirely renewed either. The reform process had come to a halt, and even a powerful regression had begun.

A rapid and radical change in the situation was already underway. By accelerating the economic reform process, an irreversible, profound renewal in the whole of economic management should take place within a short time. The key issue of the reform was the consistent enforcement of market conditions. The state had to appear in areas where market regulation fails.

Without setting up a market economy under mixed ownership, it was impossible to carry out the policy statement of the party conference and to create a modern economy. He said that private property formed a stable part of the system of ownership and complied with the nature of transitional society. Private capital would not become a central constituent of the reproduction processes, which continued to rest on the dominance of social capital.

In the next part of his report, Janos Berecz discussed the central question of further development, namely how fast social property can be rendered efficient. The law on business associations was a major step in creating effective forms of social property, he said. The planned further measures of the economic reforms, such as the budgetary reform, wage reform and creation of efficient employment conditions, were indispensable to bringing about a turn in economic policy. At the same time, it was necessary to speed up the establishment of a social welfare safety net required for alleviating employment tensions and handling the question of unemployment.

Because of the extremely close correlations between economic performance and public feeling, the success of the economic reform moves was decisive for the future home political situation. The main reason for such a state of public opinion was that the unilateral accentuation of the party's leading role for many years had created the impression of omnipotence and, furthermore, over the last one and a half decades, no relevant economic information had been given to Hungarian society. Therefore, there was the dual task of starting to accomplish a turn in economic policy, demanding further sacrifices, and publicizing the real economic situation and real options.

We are firmly determined to expand political publicity, Janos Berecz said. We continue to strive to create and maintain partner relations with journalists. The press, operating under its own laws and emerging as a political factor, should be given adequate importance in unfolding democratic public life.

A certain distortion of publicity was irritating political public life and spoiling public mood. It was a common experience that one or another marked minority, mainly party memebrs, abused the power of the press, primarily the radio. This narrow layer should not be allowed to exert unilateral emotional pressure on society. They haphazardly disturbed or misguided public opinion and weakened the chances of the reform process, because they strengthened political intolerance, thus disrupting the relations between the party and society. We shall be compelled to counter that disorted practice, he said.

For the time being, it was a pending question whether the characters of social life with different leverage and political orientation should be given access to the state mass media forums, or whether they should dispose of publicity based on their own means. As it was a political question, political interests had to be decisive in answering it. It was, therefore, a just demand that the new formations and ideological currents with bourgeois motivations should not be given greater importance than justified by their position and influence in the state-run mass media devices. On the basis of their policy, the organs of the party, the socialist state and mass organizations should deal with the new formations in a critical, polemic manner, not hushing up their aims, arguments and practice.

A source of growing tension was the practice that the situation, interests, endeavours and activity of large groups were not covered in the press in proportion to the role they played in social processes as a whole. On the other hand, a narrow group of a few career speakers enjoy as much publicity as they want. To change this practice was a major professional and political task of newspaper publishers, editors and press managers.

Our political decisions are also to give way to newspapers with different orientation. This different political approach may express an independent profile, but should not attack the bases of the social system, Mr Berecz said.

In connection with the political action capacity of party members, he touched on the question of the freedom of the platform. The platform can be interpreted as the identity of view of a group of party members for a certian period of time. Nevertheless, this should represent intentions to form an organization, grouping or institution, and should not violate the principle of democratic centralism.

The main force of the party should be particularly capable of creating opportunities in its political platform—as a party incorporating all strata of society—for dialogue and alliance under mutually accepted principles between pro-reform Communists and non-party socialist, leftist democratic and popular-national forces and the churches.

Following this, Janos Berecz enumerated the basic pillars of cooperation today:

1. To create an effective market economy and enterprising opportunities that might lay the economic foundations for a national rise, to shape an autonomous economic and social policy based on national interests that may serve as a basis for a more energetic opening to the world.

2. To enforce the right of social self-organization as an inalienable element of socialism amid the conditions of political pluralism and, within its framework, to realize the cooperation of all forces with progressive, leftist, democratic, national and humanist aspirations in the interests of Hungarian society.

3. To establish and guarantee stable constitutionality as a basis for secure law and order and state of law, which comprises the legal rules of the cooperation of the party, the government, various interest organizations and socio-political movements under a democratic political system.

4. To recognize the joint opportunities for drafting political programmes of all ideological currents working to renew socialism, including active participation by religious people in shaping social practice.

It is theoretically an open question what political institutions may result from the new national consensus. In keeping with the policy statement of the party conference, the HSWP holds the view that in the given phase of political development we are starting to set up pluralism under the one-party system.

Our struggle for a national rise can be a force organizing general consensus if we can avoid the setbacks of nationalism. The events of recent months indicate the occasional presence of overheated nationalist occurrances, side by side with sound national sentiments. A dangerous manifestation is prejudice towards neighbouring peoples, although effective and constructive cooperation with neighbouring peoples in this region is a fundamental national interest of Hungary, said Janos Berecz.

With regard to new social formations, Janos Berecz said some of them stood close to the HSWP's ideology and policy, though they were still rather weak. The political orientation of several movements could not yet be clearly seen, but at the moment they were critical of the HSWP. There also were groupings whose manifestations and approach reflected reluctance to operate in a socialist society.

In a recent development, the government had started to talk to a few movements. It was noteworthy that the particular formations displayed a politically responsible attitude by observing law and order. This was the case, for instance, on October 23.

More energetic efforts should be made to give guiding signals with regard to the new organizations to the general public. The course followed so far, partly for understandable reasons, frequently assumed an adaptative nature, tolerating almost every new development, but was not yet able to integrate and actually influence them.

Mr Berecz also covered the lessons supplied by recent history. The rebirth that came about in 1944-45 was an undeniable resource of Hungary's history. The next turning point was the merger of the two workers' parties, but the resultant rich resources had run out a short time after the party became the tool of the dictatorial rule of a small group. The attempt at advancement, launched in 1953, also provided many lessons. The resolution passed by the central leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP) in June, 1953 the government programme of the new phase, contained elements of indispensable renewal and reform. However, the unprincipled fight between groups within the party led to a national tragedy and paved the way for a counter-revolutionary offensive against workers' power.

It was an outstanding feature of the leadership of the newly-formed HSWP that, during the elaboration and implementation of its policy, it relied on the democratic mass movement which had been calling for an elimination of the crimes and met just demands since the summer of 1953, even in October, 1956. The initial basis for rapid consolidation had been offered by the democratic movement and the meeting of its demands. It caused political damage that later on this fact was not duly appreciated, and after the Imre Nagy trial, was totally neglected. In this, Mr Berecz said he also felt responsible himself.

The evolvement of the economic reform process in the second half of the 1960s had represented a new quality in the party's policy, he said.

Mr Berecz said the policy statement of the party conference was determinative to Hungary's intentions to develop the political system. Today the establishment of the pluralist system of institutions was considered feasible under the one-party system. This position, however, was facing a hard trial now. The main question was:

1. Whether the Central Committee would be able to take the lead in the relevant processes and keep the principal political line, whether it could convert the programme, including the decision of the party conference, the programme of turn, reform and renewal, into social reality.

2. Whether it would be able to tolerate and handle the formations built on the demand of political self-expression, to come to agreement with some of them and to fight others,

3. Whether it would be able to bring about a flexible action unity within the party, which would cooperate with other progressive forces outside the party.

It had to be realized that the reform of the political system also had an effect on the party. For this reason, there were pressing tasks related to the strengthening of the dynamization of the party's policy.

The economic reform processes covering property, budget, wages and economic interest coordination should be stepped up. It would seem purposeful to set up an independent reform committee affiliated to the government that would come up with concrete proposals within six months. After finalization based on a few months of debate, the reform plan coud be presented to the National Assembly. In the meanwhile, working society could also be prepared for the new order of economy. In this way, the entire process could come to a close at the end of next year, and the comprehensive economic reform introduced on January 1, 1990.

It was also necessary to accelerate the implementation of the operative schedule based on the programme of the party conference. The internal reform of the party ought to be carried out accordingly. Progress was slow in clarifying the place and task of the basic organizations, working out the new principles of organizing the party and defining the freedom of platform, because the course of events was apparently faster than that. There was need for expedient, carefully-planned, but quicker work.

The party's new working style should also be clearly manifest in daily political work as soon as possible. The reorganization of the apparatus had begun, he said, but in several places, e.g. apart from the Central Committee, that work had not been completed. The aim should be to finish the establishment of the new organizations everywhere by December 31, 1988, which would also strengthen the party's capacity for action.

The required action programme should be oriented to the basic organizations, party management organs of medium level and broad strata of the party membership, and should assist the discussion and definition of tasks stemming from the operative schedule.

In order to increase the party's action capacity, radical changes were necessary to abolish the long-standing shortcomings of cadre work, mainly subjectivism. This process had been launched under grass-roots pressure by the party membership. Party members had to be supported in electing able people for leading posts, Janos Berecz said in conclusion.

Grosz Speaks on Economic Issues

LD0311001788 Budapest MTI in English 2226 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—In his contribution to the debate, Karoly Grosz pointed out that, since the party conference, the Central Committee has discussed more home political issues than for a long time. The questions were partly political and partly ideological. The Central Committee cannot undertake to formulate ideological theses, but it can provide guidelines for theoretical work. At the same time, it also has to assess and clarify the new political issues arising day by day, such as the interpretation of the phases of development of socialism, the operation of the mixed-property economy, the concept of an all-people's state, the class nature of the system and power and the one- or multi-party system.

Turning to the economic area, the HSWP general secretary raised the question of whether it is possible to achieve a turn in the production structure within a short time. In his opinion, it would take years, or, rather, decades to create the necessary financial conditions, to adapt to the international environment and to accumulate substantial reserves of certain products. All this is supported by foreign, e.g. British, experience. The slow pace of restructuring is unacceptable, though. On an annual basis, 3.5 per cent of products can be considered new and between 3 and 3.5 per cent renewed. Should we have more up-to-date commodities, we could increase our sales to the world market. The main obstacle is not the receiving capacity of the international market, but the inadequate utilization of domestic resources.

Mr Grosz called for cuts in budget expenditure, but stressed the importance of realistic judgement. He said that in Hungary the state administration apparatus accounts for less than 2.5 per cent of all employees, and this apparatus is underpaid. Furthermore, the development plans in the fields of the economy, diplomatic relations, tourism, parliamentary work, education and health care also absorb vast sums from the budget.

Then, he drew attention to the need for dealing with serious daily problems, tolerating the negative occurrences which go hand in hand with transformation, and working out a strategy for the next 15-20 years. This strategy is being drafted, under commission of the Central Committee, by a working group headed by Imre Pozsgay.

Accomplishment of these tasks is assisted by the working programmes formulated at different forums. The party conference adopted the action programme on the further development of the system of political institutions, which is still valid. There is a separate programme for updating the legal system, under which more than 30 laws will be drafted or modernized. The "democracy" package is shortly to be presented to parliament by Imre Pozsgay. The government is being transformed according to plan, or perhaps even faster. The economic concepts are included in a government programme, and a reform committee is operative. The government also has a programme to shape international economic and political relations. The development of party work is envisaged by an operative schedule approved by the Central Committee.

The task today, then, is not to prepare new schemes but to carry out the existing ones so that for the 14th congress we can formulate—amid extensive social and in-party debate—an action programme for a longer perspective, Karoly Grosz said.

In connection with party work, the general secretary termed the emergence of independent political activity as one of the favourable developments in the period since the party conference. He spoke appreciatively of the rejuvenating cadre staff and increasing readiness for action.

It is a noteworthy change that the three pillars of the system of political institutions—the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front and the Communist Youth Union (KISZ)—are seeking to shape their own profile and encourage new thoughts. Naturally, disputable views are also expressed during this process.

The power apparatus is stable and the work of parliament and the government is developing in a promising direction. The tasks regarding many (?suggestions) have become more distinct also in the leadership.

Karoly Grosz mentioned the press as one of the aggravating factors. "I have always been for the press," he said. "The press has many good points, but I feel that, while earlier it gave an unreasonably favourable picture of events, now it is increasingly concentrating on criticizable elements. This is another distortion that has to be halted, not by administrative means, but by engaging in more lively political dialogue with committed journalists, many people who want to help but sometimes do not know how to do it."

Finally, Mr Grosz said about his statement to the October 28 issue of "MAGYAR HIRLAP" that he felt it was necessary to inform the country and its foreign partners about a few topical issues relating to our international finances. He also took the opportunity to confirm that there is a confrontation of views in the management, which is natural, but there is no power struggle whatsoever, and the emphasis is unanimously laid on unity.

Session Urges Accelerated Reform

LD0311131688 Budapest MTI in English
1134 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 3, 1988 (MTI-econews)—"The comprehensive reform of the economy must be accelerated for we have no another three to four years for debate", the session of the HSWP Central Committee, which ended on Wednesday, concluded.

The leading body of the party says the reforms of ownership, wages, budget and planning should be elaborated simultaneously and in conjuction with one another, so that a comprehensive reform of the economy can come into force on January 1, 1990.

The CC holds it is unthinkable to have a workable and efficient economy without a market economy relying on mixed forms of ownership. Private property is a sound and solid part of the ownership system, yet private capital will not play a decisive part in the production processes where public capital will continue to dominate.

Party General Secretary and Prime Minister Karoly Grosz stated in his address that "years, perhaps even decades" are needed for essential changes in the production structure, but in his opinion, there is no excuse for the current sluggishness of structural transformation. He said only 3.5 per cent of all products are new in Hungary, and 3 to 3.5 per cent of them are merely updated.

The inefficient and obsolete production structure is slow to absorb anything new: The most up-to-date means of production have been working an average 9 hours a day for the past five years, he complained, adding that the installation of modern import equipment may take as long as a year from the time of delivery.

The participants of the CC meeting acknowledged that with growing economic hardships and deteriorating living standards, the public climate of the country was very likely to worsen with tensions growing and hard clashes ahead.

The CC agreed, however, that the recently launched wave of demands should be stopped because bargaining takes away time from "rectifying the distorted system of values by restoring economic prosperity".

Economic Policy Statement Publicized

LD0311220588 Budapest MTI in English
2046 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—As reported, the session of the HSWP CC held from November 1-2 discussed reports on the expected development of the national economy in 1988, and the main features and means of economic policy for the period 1988-1990. A policy statement on these issues was made public on Thursday.

As the policy statement reveals, the Central Committee stated that basic economic processes this year were in accordance with the targets set by the Stabilization Programme, though they were not exempt from contradiction.

The planned surplus is to be realized in hard-currency goods exchange. The balance-of-payments deficit will be slightly in excess of what was planned. The surplus in the balance of payments with CMEA member states will drop. Production will grow as planned. In line with calculations, public consumption will go down and corporate investment up. These developments provide a favourable basis for the continuance and unfolding of the Stabilization Programme.

At the same time, it is clear that the actual burden of foreign debts, and the unilaterally dwindled opportunities within the CMEA, along with unsettled domestic finances, are making the implementation of the programme more difficult than expected.

In accord with the former policy statement of the Central Committee, the planning bodies are studying two options for development. The present policy statement supports the version which gives priority to endeavours aiming to speed up restructuring, develop market relations, encourage enterprise and establish a socialist market economy.

Accordingly, the Central Committee supports opening towards foreign markets, improved exportability, an increase in profitable export, the strengthening of import competition, the easing of import restrictions, and the exploration of further opportunities for economic cooperation with the socialist countries.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to increase economic competitiveness, speed up production restructuring, give a greater scope to ventures, ease the bureaucratic restrictions on economic work and introduce a strict budget and financial regulation to provide for the required trends in solvent demand.

According to the Central Committee, no tangible growth in economic performance and the usable national income seems likely in the next one or two years. The state, companies and the population should take an equal share of the burdens brought about by economic stabilization.

The Central Committee regards the anti-inflationary economic policy as an indispensable condition for stabilization. Although the standard of living cannot be kept at its current level, it is a realistic aim for 1989 that personal consumption and real wages per employee decrease to a lesser extent than this year. Also important, the consumer price increase should stay below the 1988 level. To encourage higher performance, the Central Committee supports the idea of discontinuing inflexible wage regulation and creating a wage mechanism which does not add to inflationary pressure and paves the way for responsible interest coordination between employers and employees.

The Central Committee draws attention to the need for creating conditions for the transfer and retraining of people who lose their jobs, for the introduction of unemployment benefits, for the elaboration of a long-term government programme on renewable housing policy, and for the improvement of the financial balance, particularly the state budget.

It is necessary to accelerate and coordinate the price, wage, financial and distribution policy reform under preparation.

Finally, the policy statement says the Central Committee is aware that the cooperation of the new system of means based on the new economic political approach also carries serious economic and social risks amid severe balance problems. It is confident that under the more liberal economic conditions and the rapid transformation of social life, the economic organizations, social and representative organs will avail themselves of the new opportunities with responsibility and political maturity matching the plight of the country. This is the only chance for the introduction of the system of conditions serving advancement not to cause tension in the short term that would lead to the limitation of the scope of motion in the protection of balance and abandoning the economic policy concept supported by the Central Committee.

Political Standpoint Highlighted

LD0311223788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] The standpoint regarding the latest session of the Central Committee has been published.

According to the Central Committee standpoint the situation of the party and state leadership is made more difficult by the fact that it has to struggle simultaneously with the consequences of past mistakes and with present problems. The standpoint adopted on the basis of the 2-day Central Committee debate points out in its analysis of the situation that even with the changes that have taken place since the May party conference, the mood of the population and of the party membership is deteriorating. The main reason for this is that the measures brought in to improve the economic equilibrium are producing a further drop in the standard of living and the circumstances of life are becoming more difficult.

The standpoint states that the demands of the various strata of society, which are justified in themselves, cannot be met in the short term because of the lack of financial resources. The condition for fulfilling these demands is carrying out a turnaround in economic policy and the consistent realization of reform in the sphere of production.

The Central Committee goes on to state that with the appearance of the social-political movements and associations and with the strengthening of activity by organizations which represent particular interests, the party is finding itself in a political situation characterized by genuine pluralism. However, neither the central party organs nor the party membership are sufficiently prepared for this situation.

The standpoint states in connection with social openness that the openness of the press in particular has developed significantly in recent months, and the possibility of expressing views which differ from the position of the party and government has expanded. The Central Committee considers the existence of a certain degree of

distortion in media openness to be a disturbing phenomenon in our political life. It states that certain narrow circles are endeavoring to force their own views on society and this is also transmitted by the highly effective means of mass communications. This confuses public opinion and endangers the reform process.

Speaking about the contact between the party and certain strata of society, it acknowledges that in the past decade and a half, contacts between the party and the population have significantly weakened. And relations with the important strata of the intelligentsia have not been built. It establishes that the party is in a state of change and transformation, and its leading bodies at various levels, have set about renewing their activity.

Speaking about the content of the new national solidarity, the Central Committee considers that an independent economic and social policy built on national interests is necessary; so is the assertion of the right of social self-organizing as a new element of socialism.

Furthermore, a firm constitutionalism must be developed and guaranteed. And it is fundamentally and politically important for the party to conduct a real dialogue with the workers about the economic and social party questions which concern the essential conditions of workers.

The Central Committee economic policy standpoint has also been made public. This describes the expected development of the people's economy this year, and the main features of the economic policy for the coming 2 years. It points out that despite difficulties, the economic processes are proceeding favorably, though, alongside this, great structural change and the development of market conditions are needed. In the meantime, inflation must be fought, and reform in the policy of prices, wages, and division must be accelerated.

The Central Committee believes that the standard of living will drop next year, too, but it is aiming for the reduction to be less than this year.

The standpoint establishes that in the next year or two, we cannot yet count on discernible economic growth. The burdens must be borne jointly by the state, the enterprises, and the population. Tomorrow's papers will publish both Central Committee standpoints in detail.

Grosz Begins Official Visit to Austria

Grosz, Vranitzky Interviewed

LD0311112088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1925 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Interviews with Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz and Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky by unidentified reporter; date, place not given—recorded; Vranitzky speaks in German with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] And now here is the program made jointly by the foreign political editorial teams of Hungarian and Austrian television on the occasion of the forthcoming visit to Austria by Premier Karoly Grosz:

[Reporter] What are the most burning, most serious problems in your country, which you have to resolve urgently?

[Vranitzky] Here in Austria, after the war—and especially since 1955—we have formed a very strong, effective system, which includes the economy, education, the universities, tourism, transport, and politics. The most important thing is that by the nineties and the years that follow, with the assistance of modernization, structural improvement, and a constant adaptation to requirements, we should maintain the strength of the system. It is quite easy to say this, but not so easy to implement it. People are very satisfied with what they have achieved, but again and again they must be convinced that perhaps something to which they become accustomed to as good may not be so tomorrow. For this reason, it is necessary to implement constant changes, alterations, and innovations. Therefore, our most important task is to do constant persuasive work to this effect.

[Grosz] I can give a very brief reply to that: to bring up to date, to modernize the economy, society, public life, the system of state institutions. We have to eliminate everything from the past which life has overtaken, and we have to institutionalize what points ahead, what is modern.

[Reporter] What effect, if any, does Austria's request to join the Common Market—which will probably happen in spring next year—or what effect will its eventual membership have on Hungarian-Austrian relations and on the joint holding of the Vienna-Budapest world exhibition? Do you expect this exhibition to happen, and what are the particularities of the Austro-Hungarian relationship?

[Grosz] I hope that Austria's joining the EEC in some form will have a beneficial effect on the Hungarian economy and also on Hungarian-Austrian cooperation. I also hope that the Vienna-Budapest exhibition will receive support, that both sides will appreciate this extremely big undertaking, the inherent spiritual—if you like political, if you like economic—courage. I consider our bilateral relations to be extremely rich, many colored, and valuable. I believe that cooperation in the future will strengthen because interest will strengthen at virtually every level. I also hope that we will find the forms that will guarantee and secure the consummation of bilateral economic, political, social relations.

[Vranitzky] If Austria over the years—and this will require a good many years—develops a new relationship with the EEC, and if it further increases the country's productive capacity, then Austria will be a stronger and a better partner for its Eastern neighbors, including Hungary. The special characteristics of Austro-Hungarian relations lie in the fact that these two countries have in recent years, without particular complications, launched and realized big investments, as well as concepts of smaller significance. Although we cooperate

with many other countries, too, I can still say that with our Hungarian partners and friends we have in fact always, within a short time, without any kind of difficulty, understood one another and quickly reached a common denominator. Actually, I am convinced that insofar as we obtain support from the Paris organizing bureau of the world exhibition, we shall be able to hold this exhibition with our Hungarian neighbors. And this will be a good and a pioneering world exhibition.

[Reporter] Is your dual function, that of party chairman and chancellor, that is—head of government, too much of a burden for you? For how long do you intend to bear this burden? Are you not planning to give up one of them?

[Vranitzky] The two functions naturally entail problems, first and foremost, a great burden, because it is necessary to constantly seek and find compromises seeing that I, as the head of a coalition government, always have to pay attention to the other party. However, as party chairman, I can only take my own party into account. Here, heavy burdens no doubt weigh on my shoulders sometimes. However, these still are not so heavy as to make it necessary for me to think that I should give them up.

[Grosz] As prime minister and party general secretary I would not like to undertake this tempo for long. I hope that in the near future parliament will accept my request that it should relieve me of my function of prime minister. As party general secretary I would like to carry on this tempo for a long time yet, at least until the party congress.

[Reporter] (?When) will that be?

[Grosz] Well, according to our practice, it is generally every 5 years. But now, this year, we have had a party conference of extremely great significance, so that if this takes place now not in 1990, but let us say at the beginning of 1991, then this will answer the political requirement that exists in Hungary at present. So I think that I will have to take part actively in the party's direction for 2-3 years, and I do not think that work there will be more comfortable than in government.

[Reporter] One of the basic questions of Hungarian political life today is the so-called pluralism. If I can put this question to you frankly, more and more people are raising the question of whether the MSZMP will share power with other organizations, other parties? Will this lead—we hear and read it nearly every day that there are new organizations, student, political organizations, societies—will this in fact lead to a covert, or later overt, miltiparty system?

[Grosz] Well, with regard to the multiparty system, we have a standpoint and opinion that has long been clarified and crystallized. This is a practical question and not an ideological question. The construction of socialisism is conceivable within a one-party system, and it is also conceivable within a multiparty system. It is always the characteristics, demands, and tasks of the given age which decide on the one hand which organizational structure is the most suitable, and on the other hand, the needs and demands of society.

Today, thank goodness, there are a great many such organizations; political, interest-defending organizations are being formed which represent this variegated arrangement of interests, and which guarantee that the endeavors of various groups appear on the political stage.

This is a great help for the political leadership. It is not feeling around in the dark, but coming face-to-face openly, directly with those problems which it must make efforts to solve.

[Reporter] Is there not a danger that this new consensus will lead to a new kind of general confusion, and raise the question also of political legitimacy?

[Grosz] Well, with every renewal comes a certain degree of confusion. It is a rule of law that preceeding every higher-level clarification there is a variegated transition, in which values and less viable, worthless elements are present together. We are now living through this period. This will become clarified, nice and calmly.

[Reporter] I wanted to ask, are you keeping in hand—this is an expression—tactically, the situation? There are those who criticize you from the left, that certain socialist values are being lost here, and there are those who criticize you from the right, that this is only a rhetorical pluralism, for there is no possibility for changing power relations.

[Grosz] This is also natural, for every new thing brings forth supporting, assenting opinions, and every new thing also brings forth countervailing opinions. We are attacked from the right and we are attacked from the left.

[Reporter] What is the main danger here?

[Grosz] In public opinion, it is definitely the more right-wing direction of attack that is the main danger. Within the movement, within the party, the left wing is now strengthening....

[Reporter, interrupting] There are rumors in Pest that older and younger cadres want to found a new communist party. Is there some truth in this or is this just a rumor?

[Grosz] I have not encountered this problem in an organizational way. The rumor, of course, has reached me, for I, too, live in this country, this city, and the Chinese politician was right who said: It is easy for you, everyone knows everyone here. So, news spreads quickly here. I, too, am aware of this opinion. Look, the question was not posed correctly. There is not one single social

stratum, class, power, which is in power which shares power. It shares the practice of power. We want to involve as many forces as possible in the practice of power. This is the essence of the whole concept.

[Reporter] But this does not go so far as the possibility of an election where, say, the MSZMP is left in a minority, and you speak in parliament as the leader of the opposition.

[Grosz] My personal position would be very comfortable, for it is always easier to be in the opposition than to solve the daily questions of governing. At the same time, I do not wish for this, I would like to state clearly, nor do I believe that we will reach this situation, if we manage to master our difficulties.

[Reporter] On a serious note, a fundamental change in the Hungarian power structure, according to your conception, in the sense that there be a de facto multiparty system in a forseeable time here, is not conceivable.

[Grosz] I do not reject this in principle, but in a situation full of economic difficulties, and—as you said—contradictory political situations, this is not the main direction of resurgence. In my opinion, the transition to a multiparty structure must be defended and urged by us in more consolidated conditions.

[Reporter] And how long could this take?

[Grosz] I do not know. We have a clear program that we have undertaken for 3 years on the most important controversial element of the economic questions—first and foremost halting the growth of the foreign debt. At the same time, we do not just want to stabilize, but to have a resurgence in the longer term. So today we are organizing the stabilization in the economic sphere so that we are already incorporating elements which have an effect in the direction of a longer-term modern resurgence. For example, with property relations.

[Reporter] May I ask one more question on the political side, the party side. Does this mean that the next elections in Hungary in 1990 or 1991...

[Grosz, interrupting] In 1990.

[Reporter] So, according to human calculations, in this election, other organizations or parties cannot put forward candidates.

[Grosz] It is not probable that they will put any forward although it is not I who must decide this, in view of the fact that the social debate on the new electoral law, the draft law, is just now under way. Also, we have decided that in 1990 we will put the new constitution before the parliament. The new constitution must decide this, and not me.

[Reporter] What is the situation regarding the phrase "political crisis." Is there a political crisis in Hungary today, and what is the reason for this?

[Grosz] There is no political crisis.

[Reporter] A crisis of confidence?

[Grosz] There is a crisis of confidence in the leadership in certain strata. The criterion of a political crisis, in my view, differs from what prevails in Hungary today. On the contrary, I consider this multicoloredness as downright desirable and as one of the propelling forces of development.

It is not a political crisis, but it can be a political crisis if the leadership cannot make its new endeavors acceptable to wide public opinion. I think that our political endeavors in this direction have not yet brought the success which we need.

[Reporter] In concrete terms, I have heard that real wages have dropped by 8 to 10 percent this year; there are those who speak about 20 percent, but this appears rather exaggerated. It seems that your original plan for next year—namely to reduce inflation from 15-17 percent to 8 or 6 percent will not succeed, because inflation will continue to be around 15 percent.

[Grosz] Look, this year we planned 15 percent inflation. On the basis of our debate last night, it will be 16 percent. In the international and domestic economic conditions which exist, this 1 percent excess in inflation is insignificant. In other words, our efforts to retain a hold on inflation must be judged as successful, even if, naturally, public opinion does not entirely share this view.

[Reporter] Public opinion talks about 20 to 25 percent.

[Grosz] Naturally, inflation is one thing as an economic phenomenon and something else as reflected in the public mood. These are two different things and this is so everywhere in the world. From another aspect, originally the 1989 program envisaged 9 percent inflation. I said that if possible it should be single digit, but our original idea was 9 to 10 percent inflation. Now, since unlike the previous plan, we would like to speed up the livening of the economy, it seems that the realistic figure will be around 12, 13, 14 percent.

[Reporter] What is the limit of the public's ability to bear burdens? I think in Hungary every fifth person is a pensioner and pensions are not high, either in Hungary or anywhere else in the world.

[Grosz] Look, a society's ability to bear burdens is always a very relative matter. This is not something that can be measured in meters or forints. A society's ability to bear burdens does not depend first and foremost on its financial position but on how far it understands the

situation that has developed, on how far it identifies itself with the leaderships efforts and on how far it can see the sense of accepting sacrifices. In other words, it depends on how far it has confidence in resurgence and in tomorrow.

Looking at Hungarian society from this aspect, I would say that there are still reserves in its ability to bear burdens. At the same time, I would like to add that a leadership has no right to take advantage of such reserves.

[Reporter] What is the situation regarding your personal and political relations with the current Soviet leadership? Do you evaluate the most recent changes positively?

[Grosz] Naturally, to the greatest extent. I was very glad about them and I think that we have very constructive, frank, and open relations, in regard to both political and human relations.

[Reporter] What is the Soviet leadership's position regarding one of the central issues of Hungarian politics, namely the approximately 3.5-4 million Hungarians living beyond the borders of the country, specifically the situation of Hungarians in Romania?

[Grosz] I have not discussed this with the Soviet leadership. I am, however, familiar with their principled position. The Soviet leadership has declared on several occasions its position regarding human rights—which includes its position with respect to the rights of the national minorities—and this is fully in accord with our efforts.

[Reporter] Are you aware of the Austrian position on this issue?

[Grosz] Yes, I regard it as very correct, in line with international law and the spirit of international obligations.

[Reporter] You visited Romania recently and many people have criticized, both in print and verbally, this visit, the circumstances of this visit. Was this in fact a diplomatic defeat for you or for the Hungarian leadership? After all, since then President Ceausescu has been cordially received both in Moscow and in Beijing and the Hungarian refugees continue to arrive.

[Grosz] Look, I do not regard it either as a victory or as a defeat; nor did I regard it as either of those. Even before I left I knew that the disputed issues between us could not be discussed or resolved by one visit. From one aspect, these have developed over years and decades and, from another aspect, their roots go back to the last century; besides this, our political practices differ from each other, and this can also give rise to disputed questions. Thus, my visit's purpose was not to resolve this conflict with a discussion lasting 6 or 8 hours but to launch a dialogue, in the wake of which in my opinion in the long term our differences can be resolved. From another aspect, my aim was to make a start on fulfilling my duty to improve the situation of the Hungarians living in Romania through constructive, good cooperation. Also, and this also belongs here, I regard it as very important that the people who have resettled in Hungary and those who wish to resettle here in the future...

[Reporter, interrupting] How many are there?

[Grosz] I understand that now about 10,000 of them have received settlement permits; naturally there are far more of them here and even more are asking to settle here. Thus, to settle the family reunification problem of those who have resettled here or who will resettle here in the future, amid normal human conditions. [sentence incomplete as heard]

[Reporter] Have you felt disappointed over the past weeks, the past month or two, seeing what has happened since?

[Grosz] Just think, for years nothing happened. Is it realistic to demand that this should change within a few weeks? No, it is not a realistic demand. In my opinion, there is a need to continue the dialogue and not only at the level of general secretaries; what is more, I believe not even primarily at the level of general secretaries. It should be at a governmental level, at the level of the various state and social organs.

[Reporter] Are you optimistic in this respect?

[Grosz] I am hopeful; the word optimist is not an accurate one.

[Reporter] My last question concerns the temporary presence of the Soviet forces in Hungary. This temporariness is becoming a historical category. After all, it has lasted for more than 40 years. What is the situation in this respect? Do you expect, or do you urge, or does the Hungarian leadership urge, that the Soviet forces should be entirely or partly withdrawn from Hungary within a forseeable time?

[Grosz] I am not urging it. At the same time, I would like it if all countries would recall all troops stationed abroad. This is just as true of the Soviet Union as of the United States. The stationing of Soviet forces in Hungary depends on how the world situation is going to develop, first and foremost the relations between the two great powers, and how the balance of strength develops. We Hungarians would like to be in the vanguard of reducing military forces in Europe. However, we have valid international treaty obligations and we will not violate them; we will observe them. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] It is considered a cliche to talk about the good relations between Austria and Hungary. How do you see the Hungarian domestic developments and the efforts to advance democratization?

[Vranitzky] The events in Hungary are so close to us that you can almost compare it to a passerby looking at a large shop window in the street. Most Austrians, or perhaps all of us, are watching Hungary's efforts toward a new policy and a new way of thinking with supportive sympathy. We all hope that these efforts will be crowned with success. A part of our cooperation with Hungary, whose goal is to develop further and improve economic foundations, can be regarded perhaps as a constituent part of this great work going on in Hungary. After all, every political liberalizing and democratizing effort is made easier if the economy functions well. Hungarian-Austrian relations could be a small but not insignificant constituent element of this process. [Reporter] You must have heard about the debate in the Hungarian National Assembly about the Bos-Nagymaros power station. What would Austria have done had the Hungarian National Assembly voted against building the power station?

[Vranitzky] We have a business relationship with our Hungarian partners. Our relationship is that of those who give a commission and those who fulfill one. Should our Hungarian partners—who have commissioned us, who have placed an order with us—change their views, arriving at an opinion contrary to the original order, this would produce a situation for us which we would have to examine very thoroughly. Though I have a very great deal of sympathy for all wishes expressed in the area of protecting the environment, nonetheless, I have to take my point of departure as follows: We have signed agreements with our Hungarian partners and we will honor these contracts.

Grosz Arrives in Vienna

LD0311112888 Budapest MTI in English 1045 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, November 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in Vienna on a three-day official visit Thursday morning at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

The special train arrived at the Vienna Sudbahnhof at 10 a.m. Mr Grosz was met by Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor, Robert Graf, minister of economic affairs, and other senior personalities of Austria. Present at the railway station was Janos Nagy, Hungarian ambassador to Austria, who joined the delegation in Vienna. The Hungarian leader was received with military honours. After the playing of the national anthems, Mr Grosz and Mr Vranitzky inspected the guards of honour.

Mr Grosz is to hold private talks with Franz Vranitzky in the chancellor's office. In the afternoon, the Hungarian and Austrian negotiating delegations are to meet with the two prime ministers in the chair. Mr Grosz and his entourage are to visit the Austrian federal industrial and economic chamber and meet leaders of the chamber and representatives of Austria's business life. In the evening the Austrian chancellor is to give a gala dinner in Mr Grosz's honour.

On Friday, Mr Grosz and Mr Vranitzky are to hold a joint press conference. The Hungarian prime minister is to visit the Vienna factory of the Waagner-Biro engineering firm, which is present on the Hungarian market. He is to meet Federal President Kurt Waldheim and Austrian MPs.

On Saturday, the HSWP general secretary is to hold a brief talk with Franz Muhri, president of the Communist Party of Austria. Then Mr Grosz is to meet with Hungarian citizens and people of Hungarian origin living in Austria, and leaders of the Austrian-Hungarian association, and visit Mayor Helmut Zilk at the Vienna City Hall. Mr Grosz is to return to Hungary Saturday afternoon.

The arrival of the Hungarian leader was preceded by keen interest in Austria, due to what is regarded by Austrian politicians as a 'special relationship' with the country, and to the latest political and economic changes. Austrian business circles pin high hopes on the new Hungarian law on business associations, and expect Mr Grosz's talks in Vienna to give new impetus to bilateral trade which have showed a slight decline over the recent period.

Grosz, Vranitzky Begin Talks

LD0311203388 Budapest MTI in English 1819 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, November 3 (MTI)—As reported, Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, arrived in Vienna for an official visit on Thursday. Shortly afterwards, Mr Grosz and Franz Vranitzky started talks of limited attendance in the federal chancellor's office. Following the discussions, the two politicians gave a brief interview to journalists. Mr Grosz expressed the hope that sufficient financial resources could be ensured for the Vienna-Budapest world expo, adding that he had experienced great interest throughout Europe in joining in the programme. He would not be drawn by journalists on the question of his successor as prime minister.

Mr Vranitzky said economic links could be renewed through up-to-date forms of cooperation, joint developments and investments.

The talks of limited attendance were covered by Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs. He said that this high-level meeting was the latest in the series of regular

contacts decided on last year. Mr Vranitzky told journalists that people had recently been following with keen interest Hungary's home political life, intensive foreign policy and special relations with Austria.

Mr Grosz said that reform in Hungary was being implemented at a dynamic pace, although people at home debated whether development was fast or slow. He said he felt ideally it could be faster, but, given the circumstances, it was going quite well. He also touched on the alternative movements and the debate concerning a one-or multi-party system. He stressed how stable the Hungarian political system was, the support given to its efforts by the socialist allies, and the far-reaching sympathy enjoyed by Hungary. An important aim of Hungarian foreign policy was to expand relations with the socialist world system, he said, but it could not renounce opportunities for economic development which come from cooperating with the most advanced industrial countries. Hungary was, therefore, developing ties with Western states and West European integrations.

Mr Vranitzky said that Austria was facing similar problems to Hungary's. His country saw the need for intensifying relations with the European economic community, but the priority was on remaining neutral. He termed Austria's ties with Hungary as 'exemplary'.

Mr Kovacs summed up the atmosphere throughout the discussion as 'extremely open and cordial'.

Leaders Assess Economic Ties

LD0311223988 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—Talks between Karoly Grosz and Franz Vranitzky continued with a plenary session on Thursday. At the session, Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan said that Mr Grosz called bilateral relations 'exemplary' and 'of international significance', adding that there are no obstacles in the way of further developing them.

Assessing economic cooperation, he pointed out that currently there are 120 Hungarian-Austrian cooperation agreements in force, and 60 Austrian companies have capital shares in Hungarian joint ventures. Recently, however, bilateral goods exchange has declined, the pattern of Hungarian export to Austria is outdated, the number of joint ventures engaged in improving technical standards and increasing goods exchange is insignificant, and it is still difficult to market Hungarian goods in Austria. At the same time, Mr Grosz welcomed the fact that the Austrian parliament had recently granted tariff allowances to Hungary.

As an example of cooperation, he referred to collaboration in the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system, the joint investment projects in tourism and the development agreement on metallurgical cooperation signed recently. He underlined that the experience gained during the construction of the barrage shows that it is justified for a joint enterprise to be preceeded by varied economic calculations and consideration, and circumspect preparation requires social debate.

With regard to the plans for the Vienna-Budapest World Expo, Mr Grosz said that the Hungarian schedule has already taken shape, and the government will submit its plans to parliament early next year.

The Hungarian prime minister spoke in appreciative terms of Austria's role in putting into practice the Helsinki process and making the Vienna follow-up meeting a success.

Mr Vranitzky discussed the internal conditions and programmes going on in Austria. He confirmed that Austria had no intention of renouncing its neutrality, but it would like to establish closer contacts with the European Economic Community.

The chancellor repeated his reservations about Romania's "well-known plans", and added that, despite certain doubts over possible changes in the Romanian position, "we must not put up with the prevailing practice there".

Concerning the issue of the joint World Expo, Mr Vranitzky agreed with Mr Grosz about the need for extremely well thought-out preparations, considering that it is not simply an event, but also a symbolic initiative of two countries bordering on the two world systems.

With regard to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, he said the Austrian-Hungarian contracts constitute a system resting on economic and political bases. "These bases have not changed as far as the Austrian side is concerned," he said, "and unless you indicate the situation has altered, we have no reason to modify our position."

In his reply, Mr Grosz stressed his agreement on all basic questions. concerning the Danube project, he said that construction is continuing under the parliamentary decision passed with overwhelming majority and, in accordance with the opinion of the MPs, the government has pledged to pay increased attention to environmental considerations. He said Austrian experience might be useful in this respect.

Further Cooperation Urged

LD0311231088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Julia Tardos report from Vienna]

[Text] The preparations were in accordance with the highest protocol. The reception at Vienna train station was cordial, even friendly. From a political viewpoint

this is because relations between Austria and Hungary are deemed exemplary, showing how two countries with different social systems can live in geographical and human proximity.

However, relations are far from cloudless in every sphere. After all, in the last 3 years our trade turnover has decreased by approximately one third. In other words, the trend is down. The economy was a topic of the talks between Premier Karoly Grosz and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky already in the first minutes of their discussions. Soon afterward they themselves on television spoke about their talks.

Franz Vranitzky said it is most important that we should not insist on old forms but should strive to bring about new projects in both countries and maybe even act together in third markets. Of course, this cannot be a program for a month or two, nor is personal acquaintance, friendship is enough for this. It is necessary to develop the appropriate enterprise forms. There are a sufficient number of enterprises which are interested on both sides. If this is really so, the trade balance can begin to improve within the foreseeable future, according to the Austrian chancellor.

The Hungarian premier spoke about the world exhibition, which was one of the topics discussed.

[Begin Grosz recording] This enterprise, the volume of our debts, and our domestic national program are not impossible to coincide; I do not know how it is here, but in our country it is usual to attach all desires to such a program. [sentence as heard] If we remain on the ground of reality, then we can mobilize all the financial resources required for this. It is our information that there is interest from several places in Europe in participating in this program with their means. [end recording]

This afternoon in the presence of the heads of government an agreement was signed, according to which the Austrian Oestalpin and the Lenin Metallurgical Works, with the cooperation of Technoimpex, will cooperate in the building of metallurgical works in the Soviet Union and in Libya. In addition, Oestalpin will carry out the modernization and reconstruction of a continuous smelting works in the Lenin Metallurgical works.

During the talks the Austrian chancellor spoke about the reasons for the great international interest in Hungary. The nature of our domestic policies, our active foreign relationship make Hungary particularly noteworthy, according to Vranitzky.

Karoly Grosz said that the reform is developing dynamically. We are receiving support in this from those of our socialist partners who are most important for us, and we are hoping for resources from the most developed countries for the modernization of the economy. This is why we are building up our relations also with the institutions of European integration.

Vranitzky referred to the fact that Austria conducts two-thirds of its total trade turnover with the EEC. Presumably the Austrian chancellor is well aware of how far we could be affected if our neighbor were to be admitted into EEC membership. This is presumably one of the reasons for his saying that his country wants to be a calculable partner for all, and if the choice is between EEC membership or neutrality, Austria would choose neutrality.

Most of the Hungarian delegation are economic specialists. Thus already on the first day together with Karoly Grosz they visited the Chamber of Commerce.

Grosz Addresses Businessmen

LD0311233788 Budapest MTI in English 2117 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, November 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz met representatives of Austrian economic life at the Vienna Economic Chamber early Thursday evening. He gave a brief lecture to about 200 company managers and economic experts on the position of the Hungarian economy and informed his audience about the processes of economic renewal, the elaboration of the uniform corporate profit tax and preparations for other laws. He pointed out that foreign investors may receive substantial tax allowances in Hungary. He mentioned three factors decisive for the renewal of the entire economy: a liberalized wage system, simple wage system and appropriate foreign exchange policy. Work in all three spheres is showing fair progress, he said.

Mr Grosz spoke in detail about the need for giving priority to the development of Hungarian infrastructure serving production. First of all, the telephone network and telex system should be updated as soon as possible. In this context, he announced the conclusion of a major contract with a large Austrian company.

Mr Grosz said that the Hungarian Post Office, including the telephone system, is to be turned into a mixed-property company operated with considerable foreign capital to the highest possible technological standard. Answering questions, he confirmed the possibility of setting up companies in Hungary with 100 percent foreign capital share. He added that extremely great interest has been shown in the formation of joint ventures in Hungary, with offers received from the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and Canada.

In reply to another question, Minister of Trade Tamas Beck said that an international tender is shortly to be invited for the construction of the Tatabanya-Nickelsdorf motorway, with the participation of Austrian companies.

Joint Press Conference Held

LD0411095688 Budapest MTI in English
0926 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, November 4 (MTI)—Friday morning Karoly Grosz and his host Franz Vranitzky held a common press conference at the federal chancellor's office on Ballhaus Platz. After short introductory statements, the politicians answered questions by the journalists. At noon Mr Grosz is to meet federal President Kurt Waldheim, who will give a gala lunch in his honour. In the afternoon, Mr Grosz is to meet senior representatives of the Austrian legislation in the parliament building. The third and last round of the Grosz-Vranitzky talks is scheduled to take place after that.

The visit by the Hungarian leader is widely covered by the Austrian press. The papers stress that the Hungarian-Austrian summit is held in the spirit of the special, exemplary relationship between the two countries, and the talks are focussed on deepening economic relations, and invigorating bilateral trade that experienced a decline in the past years.

Amended Labor Code To Address Strikes

LD0311142088 Budapest MTI in English
1230 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 3, 1988 (MTI-econews)—The amended labour code, which is expected to come into force on January 1, 1989, will also deal with the right to strike.

Strikes have not been prohibited or forbidden by either the Constitution or any other legislation so far.

The government's draft, as it stands now, allows a strike to be staged in two ways.

It can be initiated by a trade union in case a previously conciliated employment dispute cannot be settled within two days. It can also be organized by the workers themselves in case a previously conciliated dispute remains unsettled. In this case a secret ballot has to be taken by the workers in favour of the strike. A 'warning' strike would also be possible in the period of coordination, but not more than once, and for not longer than the duration of 2 hours.

A strike staged for an anti-constitutional cause, or against a measure which can be combatted in court would be termed illegal. A strike would be termed illegal also in case the benefits to be gained are lesser than the disadvantages the strike causes.

No strike would be allowed by government agencies, the courts, the Armed Forces. The workers or basic services, such as public transport, telecommunication, water and gas supplies would be granted limited rights to strike and they would have to provide their services on a appropriate level. Failing this, their strike would be termed illegal.

No wages or benefits (lunch and refreshments) may be given during a strike.

The National Council of Trades Unions is checking the draft now. They believe that a strike must be termed legal even if it reaches beyond a direct employment dispute within a company and the protest is against a national economic measure.

A strike, they assert, should be legal if 'it is aimed, in general, against measures affecting the living conditions of workers.'

The trades unions are opposed to the claim of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce to be granted the right to employ new workers during a strike and to the possibility for employees to ban the presence of workers on company premises during an illegal strike.

In 1976 Hungary codified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which declares in Para 21 that the right of peaceful assembly should be guaranteed but its exercise might be limited by law.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was codified in the same year. Item 'D' of Para 8 declares that the signatory governments to the covenant should guarantee the right to strike by law. Consequently, the Hungarian state assumed the obligation of granting this fundamental human right but detailed regulation is still missing.

Thatcher Continues Visit, Meets Jaruzelski

Talks With Rakowski

LD0311232388 Warsaw PAP in English 1456 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—A meeting between Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was held on Thursday.

During the talk, Prime Minister Thatcher was briefed on the current internal situation of Poland as well as the activities of the Polish Government aimed at realizing the plans of the new cabinet in the sphere of the socio-economic policy. Prominence was given to the goals of the Polish economic reform, including the provisions of the consolidation plan.

Thatcher took interest in the activities of the Polish Government aimed at an indepth restructuring of the economy and industry and democratizing social life.

During the meeting the two also discussed the state and prospects of Polish-British cooperation in all fields. Rakowski markedly pointed to the need to boost economic cooperation and trade, including co-production and setting up joint ventures as well as to create a favourable climate for speeding up the normalization of Poland's financial-credit relations with the West.

The heads of both governments were pleased to note positivie trends in cooperation, staing that there were still considerable reserves which should be used.

The two prime ministers also discussed selected issues relating to the international situation with special regard to the need to strengthen the process of disarmament and all-European cooperation.

Exchanges Views With Jaruzelski

LD0411040688 Warsaw PAP in English 1918 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—President of the Council of State of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, now on an official visit to Poland, and held a fairly long conversation with her.

The two exchanged views on the state of bilateral relations between Poland and Great Britain and the prospects for their development. Referring to rich historical ties, they expressed interest in further expanding mutually advantageous cooperation for the good of both countries and peace in Europe.

The sides were also mutually interested in the key issues of the current international situation. Expressing satisfaction at the of-late positive development of relations between East and West, the sides focused their attention on possibilities of achieving further progress in this field and in this context referred to the issues of disarmament. The president of the Council of State outlined the provisions and development of the Polish concept of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

Much attention was given during the meeting to the future of the European Continent, particularly in the aspect of the deep transformations and changes in both its parts. Both sides decisively spoke in favour of a further, constructive development of the CSCE process in all its aspects, stressing the importance of Europe's maintaining and consolidating its unity and identity.

The talk was attended by Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski. Also present were Poland's Ambassador to Great Britain Zbigniew Gertych and Great Britain's Ambassador to Poland Stephen Jeremy Barrett.

The talks will be continue on Friday.

Urges 'Change' at Banquet

LD0311173988 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1636 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Report by Chris Moncrieff, PRESS ASSOCIATION chief political correspondent in Warsaw]

[Text] Mrs Thatcher tonight shrugged off General Jaruzelski's warning to keep her nose out his country's affairs by telling the Polish leader to his face: "Set your people free."

After an emotional day in which the prime minister had felt the warmth of the Polish people at first hand, she delivered a blunt message to the Polish Government. The general had to sit and listen at a state banquet in Warsaw as she told his regime to change its ways by:

—talking to all strands of opinion, including Solidarity, the banned trade union movement.

—adopting the preservation of human rights as a way of life before hoping for full relations with countries like Britain.

—breaking down the physical and ideological walls still separating the East from the West.

On the first visit to Poland by a British premier, Mrs Thatcher said the Polish leaders had told her that they wanted to remove the restrictions restraining individual and collective initiative and to reduce interference from bureaucracy.

"That is good news. But one of the lessons of the world since 1945 is that greater prosperity comes to those nations which have greater freedom. Freedom and responsibility go hand-in-hand. Those who seek the one

must be prepared to offer the other. That is why it is so vital there should be a real dialogue with representatives of all sections of society, including Solidarity."

The prime minister went on: "Reform is never easy or free from painful consequences. But we have to ask ourselves: What would be the cost of failing to carry through change and reform? Would not the consequences be even more painful and more prolonged? People are prepared to endure hardship and difficulty when they believe the result will be a better life for them and their children."

Addressing the Polish president directly, Mrs Thatcher advised: "General Jaruzelski, we must take the tide at the flood and not lose our ventures. But we need real change if our hopes are to be realised, changes which go to the root cause of the hostility and confrontation which has fractured Europe since the Second World War."

She added: "When contemplating closer relations with other countries, we judge them by how they treat their own citizens. We shall not reach the trust and confidence we need for full-hearted cooperation until those rights are entrenched and observed as part of the way of life of the countries of Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union, and until all enjoy freedom under the law, which applies not only to those who are governed but to those who govern as well."

It was both a moral and a practical matter. "In modern societies, success depends on openness and free discussion. Suppress those things, and you are unable to respond to the need for change. We in the West could never have achieved our great technological advance without them."

The prime minister, who will be meeting Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk, said that when Poland had succeeded in those aims it would find its friends ready not just to stand and cheer but to help in practical ways.

Continuing her theme, she declared: "President Gorbachev has spoken of building a common European house. But the only wall so far erected is the Berlin wall, which divides and separates.

"As so often when one wants to build a new house, you have to start by knocking a few walls down. We want to see the barriers which have divided Europe for the last 40 years dismantled, so that Poland and other East European countries can once again share fully in Europe's culture, freedom and justice."

Earlier, Mrs Thatcher had what was officially described as one hour of "amiable" talks with new Polish Prime Minister Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Once again she drummed home the message of the virtues of a free economy, but surprisingly gave no response when Mr Rakowski broached the subject of Poland's foreign debt. He spoke of Poland's great difficulties in this area and told her: "It is like a noose around our necks. I hope there will be help in our dicussions with the Paris Club (a group of Western creditor nations) and the IMF."

Mrs Thatcher made no response. British sources hinted that this meant Britain would be prepared to help once Poland's political and economic reforms were under way. But she did promise a management training initiative from Britain, with experts travelling to Warsaw and elsewhere to help Polish businesses. Apparently trying to encourage Mr Rakowski in his efforts to restore Poland's damaged economy, Mrs Thatcher said: "I was extremely unpopular during the first two years of my premiership. At one stage, I was presented as a trade union basher. But what the government has done in Britain is to transfer power from the trade union bosses to individual trade union members, people who are full of common sense and who discuss problems intelligently."

Meanwhile, the Polish Government is clearly nervous about the prime minister's talks with Mr Walesa. He has already denounced as "trickery" the decision to close down the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, birthplace of the Solidarity movement. The Polish authorities have distanced themselves from this meeting, which they describe as "private". But they fear the 11,000 shipyard workers—all promised new jobs—will exploit the presence of the massive media coverage surrounding Mrs Thatcher to stage a protest demonstration for a worldwide audience.

After Mrs Thatcher's speech, General Jaruzelski spoke of the new face of socialism emerging in Poland—and claimed its people had suffered much in the wake of "Western restrictions".

His speech was warm but he made no secret of his desire for help from the West to end Poland's foreign debt crisis. He said: "A new face of democratic, humanistic socialism is emerging. Conditions for broad national conciliation are maturing.

"I trust that differences in systems, historical experiences and the existing realities of our respective societies shall not impair the protection of the essence of the deep reforms and the irreversibility of the process of renewal in Poland."

Addressing Mrs Thatcher directly, he said that recent years had borne out the correctness of the saying that a friend in need is a friend indeed. "Polish people have suffered much in the wake of Western restrictions. Full normalisation of economic relations with our country is still absent.

"Today, the touchstone of a partner's credibility and his real intentions towards Poland is his readiness to cooperate truly and dynamically on the basis of mutual respect."

General Jaruzelski praised Mrs Thatcher's pragmatic approach to political thinking and said: "We in Poland, too, are shedding gullibility and political sentimentality.

"Our meeting today has displayed, apart from obvious differences, a remarkable convergence of views on many essential matters."

He wanted to see an increase in the British presence in Poland. His country attached special importance to the development of economic co-operation.

"Europe is searching for new paths. A vision is emerging of a common European house, offering a grand opportunity to all who live between Lisbon and Sverdlovsk and between Edinburgh and Palermo. Our nation is a committed advocate of that great idea."

The general went on: "We are aware of your personal interest in human rights issues. In this domain almost every country has a title to pride—but also various painful and even shameful pages.

"Historically and contemporarily, Poland has no reason for complexes in this regard. We do not peddle in double morality, we reject a selective approach to human rights by dividing them as bigger or lesser."

The general said: "It is my conviction that the favourable development of Polish-British relations will constitute a valuable contribution to the all-European process."

He added that the meetings so far had been frank, matter of fact and fruitful. They would serve well the expansion of relations between the United Kingdom and Poland.

Mrs Thatcher had her first short meeting with Poland's leader this morning.

Austrian Chancellor Receives PZPR's Czyrek

LD0311231288 Warsaw PAP in English
2142 GMT 3 Nov 88

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 3—Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky received Thursday Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, now on an official visit here. As head of the Sejm (Polish parliament) Foreign Affairs Committee, Czyrek was invited by his Austrian counterpart Peter Jankowitsch.

In the talk, the sides exchanged views on the state of Polish-Austrian relations, and discussed the preparations for an official visit to Austria by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

On the same day, Jozef Czyrek met with head of the Austrian parliament Leopold Gratz to discuss the interparliamentary cooperation. They referred to the Warsaw meeting of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada scheduled for this November.

The Polish visitor also talked with Peter Jankowitsch and vice-president of the Foreign Affairs Committee in Austria's parliament Ludwig Steiner. They touched upon the possibilities and prospects for all-European parliamentary cooperation.

Sejm Session Scheduled for 9-10 November

LD0311185988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] PAP reports that the 40th Sejm session will take place 9-10 November.

The agenda envisages the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of Poland's regaining independence. The deputies are to examine the government's draft amendments to the Labor Code, make changes in the composition of the Socioeconomic Council and, of course, present oral and written questions.

Price of Agricultural Products To Rise

LD0311182988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] In accordance with the announcement by Mieczyslaw Rakowski during a television appearance, a decision has been made to increase the prices of agricultural produce. The increase, around 16 per cent, including a considerably higher one for milk and beef cattle, meets the demands by farmers and farming organizations. It is an expression of the government's aim to ensure the permanent profitability of agricultural production. New purchase prices for arable products and cattle are backdated to 1 July; but the new milk prices start at the beginning of the winter season.

Kiszczak Renews Call for Talks on Roundtable

LD0311150088 Warsaw PAP in English
1328 GMT 03 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—In connection with the premier's authorization for Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak to renew efforts to prepare the start of debates of the round table in the coming days, announced by the government press spokesman on Nov. 2, the Government Press Office reported that Gen. Kiszczak issued the following statement:

I repeat the proposal to hold as quickly as possible a working meeting with Lech Walesa and other persons to discuss organizational and procedural issues related to debates of the "round table."

Thus, purposeful would be a meeting between selected persons, aimed at settling, among other things, the number and list of participants in plenary debates and working teams, the issues of the chairmanship of debates and the sequence of speeches, press service, and the duration of the "round table."

I am confident that all participants in the preparations for the "round table" are willing to overcome obstacles and difficulties by means of dialogue with the intention of reaching agreement.

Walesa Receives Kiszczak Letter

LD0411012188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, November 3 (TANJUG)—Lech Walesa, president of the banned Solidarity trade union, said he had received a letter from Poland's Foreign Minister [title as received] General Czeslaw Kiszczak in Gdansk today.

Kiszczak proposed a meeting to start round-table negotiations and reach national agreement as soon as possible.

Walesa said he would reply to the proposal after British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit.

Thatcher ends her visit tomorrow with talks with General Wojciech Jaruzelski and a meeting with Walesa in Gdansk.

Further on Decision To Close Gdansk Shipyard

Industry Minister on Decision

LD0311230788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] From an economic point of view, the Lenin Shipyard is a bottomless pit, said Industry Ministry Mieczyslaw Wilczek at a meeting in Warsaw with a group of approximately a dozen people who are professionally associated with the maritime economy and particularly with the shipbuilding industry. Wilczek had invited them to hear an explanation of why the government decided to announce the liquidation of this shipyard and to convince them of the correctness of this decision.

Although certainly not everyone left the meeting satisfied, nevertheless no statement was made demanding the withdrawal of the decision, and most of the participants acknowledged it as advisable or, using diplomatic language, received it with understanding. The need for aid in solving the problems of the shipbuilding industry and for joining in the current of work on this problem was declared.

PAP on Reasons for Closure

LD0311221388 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 3 Nov 88

["In Wake of Lenin Shipyard Shutdown"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—Why did the new government start with a shipyard, and even if so, why was the Lenin Shipyard chosen. This question is most frequently repeated after the decision on closing the yard. Various statements suggest sometimes that the decion had a political aspect and is a surprise move.

Therefore the shipping industry, for this branch of industry has been most profoundly examined so far. Therefore the Lenin Shipyard as it found itself in the most difficult economic and financial situation.

Along with the reform the decision-making time has come. Subsidies for the Lenin Shipyard alone in 1984-1985 totalled 12.6 bilion zlotys, in 1986 - 9.2 billion and the sum envisaged for this year was some 12 billion zlotys.

Therefore, in the spring of this year, the premier appointed inter-ministerial team for the assessment of the economic situation and developmental prospects of the shipyard.

The team proved that production capacities of the shipyard have currently been used in only 60-65 per cent. This results not only from workforce shortages but also from limited production capacities of enterprises cooperating with the shipping industry.

Neither are there chances for co-operating enterprises to be able to fully meet shipyards' demand for materials and outfit components.

Thus, the liquidation of the Gdansk-based shipyard stems from economic premises measures on the scale of the whole national economy and the whole industry. The point is to take up certain costs at present to avoid being burdened with them on a greater scale in the years to come.

Party Body Discusses Liquidation

LD0311224988 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 3—A meeting of the Gdansk shipyard's workers' council, devoted to the enterprise's situation after the announcement of its liquidation, was held in the Lenin Shipyard here today. The council adopted a resolution on this matter.

A plenary meeting of the shipyard's PUWP Committee was also held today. After the meeting the committee's first secretary, Wiktor Borcuch, told PAP:

"The party organization is not protesting against the decision of the liquidation of the shipyard because the fact of its low profitability is true. We once again pointed to the various causes of such a state the majority of which are of an objective nature. We also pointed to the complex social and welfare problems which will arise due to the shipyard's liquidation. However, I think that these matters will have to be reviewed individually so as not to harm the shipyard's many-year employees."

Support, Opposition Noted

LD0411002288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] The liquidation of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard is stirring emotions. Both supporters and opponents of this decision, the first of its type in postwar Poland, can be found. The supporters claim that a restructuring of industry is indispensable, a changeover from energy and material intensive enterprises to more modern ones, producing for the needs of the impoverished market, and above all not demanding subsidies from the state budget. The facts, on the other hand, witness that the Gdansk shipyard does not unfortunately belong among these. The exploitation of the productive capacity came to barely 60 percent, the daily shifts worked to not much more than the equivalent of one shift, with a 25 percent labor turnover. The opponents of liquidation claim that the shipyard workers were not given the possibility of implementing the programs recently prepared, that the decision is premature and too hasty. The Lenin Shipyard workers do not agree with the liquidation of their shipyard and are offended that the hard rules of the reform touched on them first.

Today there ensued a real siege of the labor bureau.

As of 1500 today, over 1,000 shipyard workers were interested in new offers of employment.

Job Information Desks Set Up

LD0311230888 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 3—Two job information desks have been set up in the Gdansk shipyard—one for non-worker posts and one for manual occupations.

The desks have so far compiled offers for approximately 5,000 employees. Gdansk has a much more significant shortage of manpower which totals about 11,000 vacancies monthly while this figure in the scale of the whole voivodship totals 30,000.

"We have prepared a comprehensive range of offers, also as far as their structure is concerned. Yesterday the interest in our information was relatively small while today several hundred employees have made enquiries," said Stanislaw Banczyk from the employment department of the Gdansk city hall.

Miodowicz on Jobs at Trade Union Meeting

LD0311215788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] The trade union movement will consistently demand from the administration the assurance of new employment for workers of closed and reorganized enterprises, said Alfred Miodowicz at a meeting between the secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee and the chairmen of voivodship trade unions. The participants in the meeting confirmed the trade union movement's readiness to take part in the roundtable talks.

Ciosek Denies PRON Ignored in Agreement Process

LD0311220188 Warsaw PAP in English 2043 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Szczecin, Nov. 3—The plenary session of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) Voivodship Council here complained Thursday that the organization was ignored when it came to discussions on the nation's crucial matters.

In response Stanislaw Ciosek said that such complaints were groundless. PRON, being a pro-government movement of broadly perceived cooperation with the authorities, is at the same time one of the initiators of the round table talks. PRON however had too small platform to fulfill the supreme national tasks. That is why the national agreement is being discussed by the broader representation yet including the movement, he said.

PZPR Politburo 25 October Communique

AU0211154888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP headline: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session Communique"]

[Text] On 25 October the PZPR Central Committee Politburo acquainted itself with information on the state of preparations for the "roundtable" session. The Politburo affirmed its determination to bring about such a meeting as quickly as possible and expressed the hope that the differences that still exist will be rapidly removed during the preparatory talks.

All important issues affecting the people and the future of the country can be raised at the "roundtable." For this reason, most of society is hoping that the talks will start, that they will be constructive, and that they will produce positive results for political, social, and economic life.

The Politburo has empowered Czeslaw Kiszczak to represent the PZPR's stance at the session.

The Politburo acquainted itself with initial reports on the course of the National Conference of Workers Aktivs and the topics discussed at it. The conference was an

important and representative form of conducting consultations on party policy and the government's intentions. The participants in the meeting expressed far-reaching support for profound changes to the economy and political life.

Taking into account the assessments and proposals formulated at the conference, the Politburo charged party echelons and organizations with increasing the importance of worker representation in the party's elected governing bodies and in various advisory and consultative bodies as well as with conducting a far-reaching examination of workers' opinions with particular reference to working conditions, wages, the social situation, conditions in workers hostels, the way in which young workers adapt to social and vocational life, and interpersonal relations.

Central Committee departments were charged with disseminating information about what was produced by the National Conference of Workers Aktivs among workers and the party aktiv and party members, as well as with conducting an extensive examination of the suggestions and proposals that were made at the conference.

The Politburo called on the OPZZ and the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth to make active use of the results produced by the conference during work with plant union and youth organizations.

At one of its upcoming sessions the Politburo will examine the suggestions and views expressed by participants in the Conference of Workers Aktivs, which was held at the Ursus tractor plant.

It was stressed that party activity still contains various stereotypes and outdated forms of working that have an unsatisfactory political impact. Party members should be actively involved in implementing the party line in their workplaces and their communities. The party and its activists at every level should engage in a frank and open dialogue with working people.

The Politburo examined the political, organizational, and program principles to be considered at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. The convoking of such a conference—halfway through the 5-year term of office; it will be scheduled for some time at the end of March and the beginning of April—is stipulated by the party statute. The conference will be preceded by an accountability and program campaign throughout the entire party—one that will begin with primary party organizations and will extend to voivodship conferences and individual talks with all party full and candidate members. The talks will be of a consultative and motivational kind.

The task of the National Conference of PZPR Delegates is to assess the implementation of the congress resolution, examine a report on Central Committee activity, and set the directions for party activity until the 11th congress.

The Central Committee Politburo acquainted itself with the implementation of economic tasks 9 months into this year and the results of undertakings stemming from the seventh and eighth Central Committee plenums that are aimed at improving the supply of goods to the marketplace and working people's living conditions.

The Politburo ascertained that during the period in question there had been an increase in the growth rate for national income and industrial output. A high growth rate for exports—it was twice as high as that for industrial output—was maintained. This creates favorable conditions for accomplishing and even exceeding this year's tasks. On the other hand, there is a less favorable situation with respect to the structural adjustment of production to suit social needs and standards of quality. Investment imbalances are increasing. This is evidenced by the number of investment projects that have been started as well as the failure to complete them on schedule. The rate at which scientific and technological achievements are put into practice and the effectiveness of such moves are unsatisfactory. Although there has been a certain improvement, industrial goods, especially consumer goods, tend to be of poor quality.

The Politburo was critical in its assessment of housing construction. Attention was drawn to the great regional differences that exist with respect to the accomplishment of tasks in this area: In as many as 27 voivodships, the number of apartments that were completed and ready for occupancy was lower than last year. This means that there is a danger that this year's tasks will not be completed. The situation is least favorable in the voivodships of Wroclaw, Kalisz, and Lomza. The best results in implementing the housing program are being obtained in the voivodships of Wloclaw, Zielona Gora, Walbrzych, Przemysl.

The Politburo conducted a particularly penetrating examination of the development of and prospects for the money-market situation. It was stated that the situation is being predominantly shaped by growth in the population's incomes which is not fully backed by an increase in goods and services. Although the additional efforts to increase supply and the production of consumer goods made following the seventh and eighth plenums have been in line with the decisions adopted by the government, they have been negated by the rapid flow of money into the marketplace. The Politburo drew attention to the low effectiveness of instruments and mechanisms that are designed to link wages to labor performance and an enterprise' overall performance. This is evidenced by a poorer, higher productivity payment index. As a result, there have been disruptions in consumption and all the negative social consequences that this entails.

While appreciating the energetic efforts that are being made by the new government, in view of the results for the 9-month period, the Politburo is counting on activity aimed at curbing inflation and negative market phenomena being effective. It was stressed that an improvement

in this area will be of vital importance for the successful commencement of work on the implementation of the plan for the consolidation of the national economy.

The Politburo charged party echelons and organizations with conducting an assessment of the effectiveness of the steps taken by party members in managerial posts aimed at increasing production and restricting the flow of "cheap" money. Attention was drawn to the need to exact personal responsibility for observance of economic discipline in enterprises and to create conditions for accomplishing this year's tasks in areas in which poor progress has been made.

The Politburo called on the government, the OPZZ, the Nation Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and representatives of other social and vocational groups to cooperate within the framework of the social and state Commission for Prices and Incomes, the establishment of which was recommended by the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It is envisaged that the commission will be actively involved in shaping prices and incomes policy with a view toward maintaining a balance between the interests of individual social and vocational groups and the general public interest.

The Politburo acquainted itself with information on current problems pertaining to cooperation between Poland and the IMF and the World Bank. The Politburo concluded that the membership in these financial organizations has contributed to the availability of more objective information on the Polish economy and Polish economic policy at the international level.

A dialogue has been taking place for more than 2 years, and it has chiefly concentrated on formal and organizational issues. We can expect the dialogue to yield results shortly in the form of a full normalization of financial and credit relations with the IMF, the World Bank, and the Paris Club. The Politburo deemed that a correct stance on this issue had been adopted by the Polish delegation that attended the joint session of the IMF and World Bank authorities that was held in West Berlin at the end of September and the beginning of October.

The Politburo stressed that problems pertaining to Poland's financial and economic cooperation with foreign countries should constitute an integral part of the consolidation plan during the years 1989-90. Efforts must be made to establish principles of cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank on the basis of the economic strategy and detailed provisions of this plan while striking a balance between the expectations of creditors and the capabilities of the Polish economy in a way that does not have a negative impact on society's standard of living and prospects for the country's development.

The Politburo listened to a report delivered by M. F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the course of his working visit to Moscow and fully approved the results that it produced.

Jaruzelski Addresses Workers Conference

AU0211163688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at the National Conference of Workers Aktivs in Ursus near Warsaw on 23 October]

[Text] Our conference is drawing to a close. It has not been possible for everyone to speak and to hear every opinion. Therefore your thoughts will be committed to paper and placed before the Central Committee, where we will examine them and put them to use.

The debate was very interesting, and the conference itself very useful. Although our hall is rectangular, the conference was a kind of "roundtable" for an exchange of opinions that were often controversial, opinions with which I also polemicize.

I have before me the final speech, prepared beforehand. But I will not use it because I do not wish to administer teachings and instructions. Instead, I want to share my thoughts.

Therefore I will use only the notes I made during the conference. Its main purpose was to hear your speeches, draw conclusions, and translate them into practice.

I will start with the topic which Minister Wilczek touched upon so convincingly—whether there is any justification for the kind of catastrophism, I would even say masochism, which we encounter so frequently. This leads us into a blind alley of hopelessness and gives rise to a feeling of wasted time. People say: "God punishes people by taking away their minds." One can paraphrase this and say "by erasing their memories." Let us think of Poland 7 years ago. I shall not speak about earlier periods. Let us think of the beginnings of the renewal. What have we done, to what degree has Poland changed, both in the sense of political and democratic transformations, and in the sense of its international position, especially with regard to the new, significant relations with the USSR, with which we share a particular communion in the spheres of restructuring and renewal? And finally, how much has the socioeconomic situation changed?

Does this mean we want to idealize this picture? No, it does not. That would be wrong. But I think that we can sum up this period as follows: two steps forward, one step back. Steps forward usually remain unnoticed, while there is an understandable psychological tendency to magnify every step backward.

And yet our development has not collapsed. The path of changes established by the Ninth PZPR Congress and reaffirmed by the 10th has not been erased.

However, one has to acknowledge that this year has seen a kind of malfunction, a rapid aggravation of problems and difficulties. The point is to eliminate them in the shortest possible time, create solid guarantees, and proceed energeticaly toward effectiveness.

The experience we gained during this period is invaluable, even if we did encounter the occasional disappointment and "black eye" during the bold searches, the overcoming of barriers, and the struggle against wrongdoing.

We can enter this new phase with a feeling that we have done a lot, but not as much as could and should have been done.

The discussion devoted a lot of attention to the "roundtable," and no wonder. This is a particularly significant matter. It is our initiative as well. The idea to unite national efforts has been a doctrinal assumption of our party since its origin. Already during the occupation, the Polish Workers Party and Polish left wing suggested a front of common struggle against fascism. In 1980 and 1981 we held out our hands and put forth many initiatives. We still adhere to this stance. In many matters, our society is "torn." There are various historical and modern reasons for this. And it is difficult to proceed and solve all problems of today and tomorrow when there is a climate of discord, which causes aggression and unrest, as well as passiveness and apathy.

It is necessary to come to terms and to induce the patriotic forces, groups and people who are standing in the sidelines, plus those who are opposition-minded but who respect the principles of our political system, to take part in active public life and cooperate in various forms of exercizing power. This is not a tactic. It is a strategic assumption dictated by historical experience and by the need to use all the reserves of social energy for the sake of the supreme goals of socialist Poland. We are consistent in our efforts toward this objective. Every objectively thinking person will confirm it. For years we have been saying that there is no returning to the situation before August 1980 and to the one before December 1981. The line of socialist renewal, reform, and accord is irreversible. Let us not raise barricades where a bridgehead is required. Let us not ask where one comes from. What is important is what he brings with him and where he wants to go.

I remember, and I have said this on more than one occasion, the difficult and dramatic years immediately after the war, when brother rose in arms against brother. But today, most brothers are together. One must never forget this historical experience. Although we do not loudly condemn every single case of distortion along this complex road, we must see to it that there is no return to the events that brought our country to the brink of disaster in the autumn of 1981. That is why we cannot accept the principle of "all or nothing." That is why we have to view with unease the various excesses, confrontational speeches, strike alerts, and various stupefying maneuvers taking place on the very eve of the "roundtable."

For obvious reasons, I want to speak out in stronger terms on the subject of the questioning of the duty of and need for military service, including military classes in colleges, and the disturbances in some defense industry plants.

The Polish Army is a historical and great national value. It is one of the pillars of Poland's sovereignty, security, and prestige. I do not advise anyone to play around with this matter.

With the authorization of the central authorities, General Kiszczak has issued his well-known statement, his well-known offer. It remains fully valid. There are no taboos. There are no preconditions. One can discuss anything, even pluralism. However, the statement also says that there can be no talks with those who undermine our state's legal-constitutional system.

Trade union pluralism is defined by the Trade Union Act of October 1982. The act also provides that the State Council can decide when the time for trade union pluralism is ripe, which means that certain conditions for it must exist. What kind of conditions?

First, economic ones. There has to be a fundamental, essential economic equilibrium, so that all the various kinds of claims and bargaining do not interfere with the economic reform process.

Second, political ones. This means creating an outlet for political aspirations in proper forms, in other words in the form of a modified Sejm composition, a second Sejm chamber, bodies of executive authority, and various kinds of associations and organizations, so that enterprises cease to be political battlegrounds.

Third, recognition of the Polish raison d'etat by all partners to the dialogue, including an acceptance of the August slogan "Socialism yes, distortions no." It also involves an end to financial support from outside elements, something that is against the law everywhere in the world; and dissociating oneself from extremist and antisocialist forces. I have in mind mainly those foreign bodies that have nothing to do with the trade union movement, nor even with gainful employment—bodies that do not plow or sow, and yet manage to live very well. It is they who have led to human dissatisfaction and given rise to the social currents that illustrate this dissatisfaction. There is a folk saying, perhaps a bit frivolous, which says: "He has attached himself like a leech to a

dog's tail." Whatever one does, one cannot shake this leech off. It is not so bad if the dog is wagging his tail. But it is worse if the tail is wagging the dog.

I realize, and have said many times, that Polish problems cannot be solved by force. Force is a final resort, although there will be no hesitation to use it should there be attempts to destabilize or overthrow the socialist state. But our strength must first and foremost consist of facts and arguments, and it must manifest itself in the pursuance of the kind of economic policy that is approved and felt by people. This will determine the degree of social support, the way to solve our problems in the future, the way to consolidate socialism.

We are dispensing with the ceremonious, fragmentary model of trade unions. But we also reject the model that could be used as the Trojan horse of political goals. Our entire experience confirms this need. The trade unions must be strong. They must unfailingly protect workers interests, be a gauge of moods, and be a partner respected by the authorities. Of course, all this does not occur automatically. It has to be won, using the Trade Union Act, among other things.

This is how the OPZZ works. This is how numerous trade unions work. If a trade union does not enjoy its rightful position in an enterprise, this fact disqualifies the management, the factory PZPR committee, and the trade union. Hence, the consolidation of the trade unions' position contains the chance to win over all those who have been passive until now or who have been looking for different roads. For what we need is a trade union model that unites all those who want real, strong, and effective trade unions. Recently I came across an article in the 15 October edition of the Canadian newspaper TORONTO STAR. The author of this article states with irony: "Where three Poles meet, they form four political parties." And what about the joke about the Polish cauldron in hell? That joke was in circulation long before anyone had ever thought of socialism. And what happens if someone appears to be above-average? He frequently encounters hatred and jealousy.

Let me mention another interesting but very sad phenomenon. To describe it, I will quote a particularly appropriate fragment of a speech made by Sejm Deputy Zofia Witkowska at the latest Sejm session: "Can anyone here show me a happy person? Someone who admits he is happy, has a nice home, clever children, and rewarding employment? One does not encounter such a person these days. Perhaps there are no such people? There surely are, but people like this are out of fashion. A Pole of the 1980's is supposed to be unhappy, and that is that. Even in economic conditions that are considerably worse than ours, there are happy people. But we like to suffer. We like being unhappy...."

Or take the derogatory term "Polnische Wirtschaft," in vogue even before the socialist era. Why am I saying all this? I am saying it to representatives of the workers class and to most young people. For who is to overcome this type of thinking if not your generation, if not socialism? I am convinced this is possible and feasible. After all, we have already traveled part of the road, and there is a chance to attain this objective. One has to take a sober look at the reasons for our failures. What others achieved in centuries, we are hastily and breathlessly achieving in a few decades, making a lot of mistakes in the process. The reasons for our failures are objective ones, reasons that were a burden in the past and are also a burden in the present, such as debts and economic discrimination which we are still experiencing so keenly. However, we should concentrate on the subjective reasons, and begin with the party. We realize that much still has to be done for the party to be the same as it was, but not the same way as it was. This process is too slow. What is necessary is to deepen the process of renewal within our membership. We consider this to be the leading task for the Central Committee and all party cells right now. We will not leave this road.

We need constant criticism and self-criticism. But this criticism has to be honest, and must begin with us. For we often see only external imperfections, not our own. The anger of workers has to be distributed fairly among all those responsible for errors. Of course, the chief blame rests on "the top." The higher one's office, the higher his responsibility. But those "at the bottom" who commit mistakes should not hide behind a curtain and say that the party and government are solely responsible.

The party will continue to assess its activity honestly. It will make harsher assessments of the activity of its members who hold managerial posts in the party, administration, and other cells of political and social life. On the other hand, the party cannot and will not apologize for its existence. It will surrender neither to adversities nor to the opponent.

The party's role has its historical-political importance and justification. But the party has to struggle constantly for its position and place. Above all, it must make working people feel that it is close to them and necessary to them. And this means that it is particularly important to care for ordinary people.

There is a beautiful poem by Tuwim to his daughter: "Daughter, bow to little people, because these little people are big people." And in Poland there is no shortage of comrades who, once they have sat down in a big armchair, automatically feel big themselves and become soulless and listless. We must pay attention to this phenomenon. In a socialist state, it is the workers class and its party that must resolve everything that clashes with our ideals.

Comrade Krzeminski has said today that Lenin never asked Kerenskiy if he should start a revolution. That is true. But the Polish Workers Party also never asked Mikolajczyk [a socialist but noncommunist premier who was ousted from office following the merger of the Polish

Socialist Party and Polish Workers Party into the PZPR] if it should start a revolution. However, Leninism was followed by Stalinism, and we in Poland also experienced an offshoot of Stalinism, vestiges of which are still with us. Every revolution has its Robespierreism or Stalinism, its painful and difficult periods. The point is that today, when we have reached the point of being able to act in the direction of socialist renewal, we should follow this road boldly and with determination. No new political order has ever taken shape smoothly. That is why one must realize that not everything that hurts us is the fault of socialism, but the fault of objective obstacles and subjective mistakes made in the process of its construction.

Socialism is a great idea. The attainment of socialist objectives has been criticized too soon. There have been careless forecasts of completing something that is still in the development stage. The road of building this system is long and difficult. The difficulties lie not just in the system, but in the economy and in human thoughts and feelings. That is where changes take more time. That is why we must not let socialism be criticized per se. It is a great humanitarian idea. We must aim toward implementing it, guiding ourselves by this system's universal principles, but also taking our country's concrete historical conditions into consideration.

Of course our nation has the right to be bitter and distrustful. The working class has the right to ask questions and demand explanations. But it should also know the whole of the situation in Poland, understand its complex conditions, and realize that there are no simple answers or simple recipes today. Most of all—and I stress this—it must realize that there are no decisions that appeal to everyone. After all, progressive transformations are not free of collisions. Those who try to reach historical conclusions on the basis of a few years are wrong. At the same time, and this is perfectly understandable: The young generation has no sense of history, and not always realizes how our socialist statehood arose and what our burdens are.

By saying all this, I do not intend to justify anything. I am talking frankly about the difficult childhood of our system. I agree that everyone wants to live well and increasingly better, and should do so. But people's views must be objective. Every political squint distorts the picture of reality and leads one in the wrong direction.

We are in a transitional period, and transitional periods are always the most difficult ones, because they involve transitions from a dictated economy to a planned economy, from directives to independence, from centralist extremism to democratic normality, and so on; in other words, temporary states of affairs that do not always permit favorable solutions. That is why we must reach firm solutions more quickly. We are doing this too slowly. More consistent activity is called for, and this was the message of the resolutions of the Seventh and Eighth PZPR Plenums.

Our lives, as well as those of every society, are full of discrepancies. However, this should not discourage anyone. Resolving these discrepancies should act as a driving force. What is the main discrepancy? It is between requirements and aspirations on the one hand, and possibilities on the other. Because no one agrees to a reduction in requirements, and they are right not to do so, all our energies must be concentrated on increasing possibilities and raising efficiency and productivity.

When talking about economic problems, we regularly use concepts such as mechanisms, restructuring, intensification, parameters, and so on. However, one must always remember that the chief goal during socialist construction is to achieve an increasingly higher level of understanding of the broadly conceived conditions of human life. The particular point is the difficult coordination of economic efficiency on the one hand, with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of socialism on the other. Is this impossible? It is possible. Not because we can prove it is possible by means of theory, but because we already have real examples of areas and enterprises which one may consider to be showcases of socialism in a productive, social, and cultural sense. We must try to equal these. They must serve as the strongest argument for our cause.

There are 38 million of us. Our population has increased by almost 3 million during the past few years, during what is, after all, a crisis period. Although this population growth is pleasing, because it increases our national potential, it does have an economic impact. The number of people of a productive age is also decreasing, which means that there are more people of a nonworking age than there are of a working age. So what is the conclusion? We must work better and harder so that we can bring up the young generation properly and assure people that they will reach old age with dignity.

A very sharp topic in today's discussion was housing construction. I do not want to add anything to this. There ought to be clear, tangible progress in all the activity that has been described today. In particular, one should pay greater attention to the possibility of factories engaging in housing construction themselves, and to various private initiatives by young people, among others. There are examples of this which show how much can be done if one applies the young generation's energy and initiative.

I have in front of me material which indicates that the "Huba" Young People's Housing Cooperative, established at the initiative of Union of Socialist Polish Youth branches in Wroclaw factories, has already completed 124 apartments for young families, and is building another 46 and planning another 230. The time it takes for it to complete an apartment is short: 6-8 months.

Another example is the "Strop" Interfactory Youth Housing Construction Cooperative, which has built 146 apartments, mainly for young workers in the Rosa Luxemburg plant, and is in the process of finishing another

64. There are also plans to build a housing estate with 800 apartments. Or take, for example, the "Koria" Youth Housing Construction Cooperative in Gdansk. It has already built 538 maisonettes and is building another 1,230. Of course these cooperatives are also experiencing material and all kinds of other difficulties, but they show how much can be done if one acts energetically, using all available resources.

Someone here has said that "young people have been left to themselves." This is correct to a certain extent. One can tell it is so from the situation in some workers dormitories. The situation in them is not good, so it is no wonder that dissatisfaction, even unrest, is born in these dormitories. Yet it is we who should say to young people, especially young workers: "Come to us, to the socialism that is capable of being liked, to a dignified life in Poland, not to a life with those who are leading you astray." We must make a greater effort in this direction.

We are one of the youngest nations in Europe. About 80 percent of the population was born after the war. Every other young Pole is a worker. The workers class is our society's chief force. I am not saying this out of courtesy. That is the historic and modern role of this class. Our party arose out of the aims and struggle of the workers class. It led the way during the liberation of this class, and today one of the party's fundamental characteristics has to be service to the workers class and nation, plus a feeling of responsibility toward them.

One may and should discuss everything so that neither side will tell lies to the other. We will not be offended if young people criticize us or mistrust us. They should lead the way in condemning every single case of dishonesty, soullessness, and bureaucracy. How much wrongdoing there is around us, which cannot be eliminated even with the help of the wisest rules and regulations! Various parasitical outgrowths still exist. It is essential to reduce them with greater determination. The central authorities are undertaking an appropriate struggle.

Let us take, for example, the case of job certification. As long as there is an absence of full market competition and no sense of compulsion to rationalize employment, supplementary activity by people themselves will continue to be required, and this situation is very bad.

At the Politburo field session in Katowice, and there are comrades here who attended it, we discussed this very subject. For example, we said that one department in the Katowice steelworks had worked out a plan to reduce the number of administrative personnel, and even personnel on the production floor. However, there was so much opposition to this plan that it had to be abandoned.

We often say: People must value their work and appreciate it. In this context, it is worth noticing that not all of our production potential is being used, hence there is a great reserve inherent in production. The truth is that "machines are dying standing up," and "people are working lying down." A sharper look at these affairs from the angle of young people is required. Essential activity by the party and administration will encourage a better use of production potential, but nothing can take the place of direct action by working people themselves.

A particularly important matter is consolidating the position of the workers self-management bodies and the entire structure of factories, which must consist of a strong management, workers council, trade union, and youth association, plus a party committee as a partner that imparts a sociopolitical tone to the work of factories, coordinates the harmonious functioning of all forces, and sees to it that the sociopolitical goals of our system are adhered to.

The young generation is the nation's future. This is so true that it sounds banal. The point is that young people's energy and potential should be used to the full. For the party, the struggle for young people is the "be all and end all." As its leadership, we will do all we can in this matter. The problem also includes cadre policy, which must give greater preference to the best and most energetic people. How many of these people belong to the young generation! We must accelerate this process, because the decisions reached at the Seventh PZPR Plenum are still not providing the expected results.

A workplace is a place of joint activity between young workers and the young intelligentsia. Poland needs every talented person, regardless of his social background. However, the point is that the nation's chief force in a socialist state should be able to select from its own ranks creative, above-average people capable of acting at every level and in every sphere of life.

Improving the living and working conditions of the workers class is a great economic and social problem, but the historical and social advancement of workers, their intellectual development, and an ironing out of the differences between physical and mental work are our chief objectives. We have many concrete ideas about what kind of work to undertake for the sake of the workers class. Soon we will tackle this topic more fully and, I hope, more tangibly.

There has been a lot of talk today on the hopes which our society and the young generations pins on the new government under Premier Rakowski. We share these hopes. At the same time, it is to be remembered that right now there is a struggle to make this government's work proceed smoothly and consistently. I have just read a review about a program broadcast by Radio Free Europe yesterday, a program which criticized our conference before it had even started. It also criticized a government that had only just emerged. Let us not be surprised by this. The better things are in Poland, the worse it is for our adversaries. Our friends in Munich are going to be disappointed. Things are going to be better in Poland. They have to be. I think our conference will be instrumental in this.

With what can we leave this conference? Is it just another interchange of speeches with nothing to show for it? Or is it an important social event, a verification of assessments, a confirmation of a desire to act, and a bilateral, I repeat bilateral, commitment to perform what we have together recognized is essential work? The near future will show. Will the credit of confidence mentioned by Comrade Garyga be confirmed? The National Conference of PZPR Delegates will be an opportunity for accountability. I also accept the idea of holding a conference like today's in 1 year's time, with basically the same participants, to see how far we have progressed.

The party leadership, political coalition of parties, and government express their conviction and readiness to act in this way. We know our work will be closely monitored by those attending today's conference, but the work of the entire workers class and society will also be watched. Therefore, society will issue the final assessment. I believe it will be good.

Finally, let me thank you warmly for your attitudes and professional and social work, for it is the results of your work that have brought you here today. At the same time, I wish you success in further toil and activity for the welfare of our socialist fatherland.

Assumptions of Economic Consolidation Plan

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["Assumptions of Consolidation Plan for National Economy (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 2—

1. Introduction

The assumptions of the consolidation plan which puts to detail the line of the 10th congress in the special conditions of the end of the eighties, has been worked out at the PUWP CC with the participation of party and non-party activists, representatives of social and professional milieus, scientific institutes and experts. The assumptions of the consolidation plan were adopted by the Political Bureau on October 18, 1988.

2. The Goals of the Plan

Immediate Goals

The coming two years (1989-1990) should see a stop to the development of negative trends in the economy and an improvement in fields most important for the population, especially:

—Improving market supply and shopping conditions,

—Stopping the regression, reversing negative trends in housing construction,

—Limiting the scale of inflation and checking the fall in the buying power of money.

In this period, the functioning of the state administration and the whole sphere of public services—post offices, banks, health service—should improve markedly.

Longterm Goals

The following should take place up to 1995:

—Full balancing of the economy: making sure that the internal market simply be a good market,

—Qualitative improvement of the housing situation—thanks both to a boosting of housing construction and through a removal of limitations for better utilization of the existing housing resources,

—Reduction of goods and services price growth to about 5-6 percent and increase of the role and strengthening of money, securing at least a partial convertibility of the zloty into foreign currencies,

—Checking natural environment degradation and next improving its state.

3. Strategy of Action

Consolidation of the national economy stands for setting in motion social forces, economic mechanisms and organizational-technical activities to stir economic activity and release grass-root forces of economic progress permitting to overcome material barriers to production development, overcome the atmospshere of inability prevailing today.

Consolidation of the economy stands for a course directed at restoring economic balance and improving the living conditions of the population. It means efforts being focused around priority fields—agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, natural environment protection.

Consolidation of the economy is a program of better using the resources and productive forces of today and tomorrow.

Consolidation of the national economy consists in:

—a fundamental change in the philosophy of economic management: moving away from limitation, licensing and controlling, to creating conditions conducive to the development of initiative and enterprise, stirring economic activity, production and effectiveness in all sectors of property,

—Putting into practice the conclusions stemming from an ineffective use of labour, raw and intermediate materials and fixed assets,

—Undertaking the great cause of restructuring the national economy, restoring balance and strengthening money.

The realization of the consolidation plan will take place through:

—An elimination or change of regulations blocking activity, removing bureaucratic obstacles, absurds and nonsense in social and economic life,

—Decisions of economic policy,

—Transforming or introducing new economic instruments as well as systemic solutions in all places where this will prove indispensable.

Owing to this, one should verify the plans stipulated in the implementation program of the second stage of reform.

The plan of consolidation of the national economy should be the fundamental programmatic document discribing in a complex manner the contents of the socio-economic policy between 1989-[incomplete sentence as received]

The plan of consolidation of the national economy should be the subject of a Sejm resolution.

4. Removing Limitations and Promotion of Economic Activity. Equality of All Sectors.

Polish society has a inexhaustible potential of energy, initiative and enterprise. The socio-economic space for its application is tremendous. Along [with] great state enterprises there is room for thousands of small and medium production and service establishments of various types of property. Bureaucratic barriers and limitations hampering the start and pursuance of economic activity in all fields of the economy and in all property sectors must be done away with as soon as possible.

The permanent character of the prospects and stability of economic solutions in all forms of property will be guaranteed by law. Independently of the forms of property (state, cooperative, municipal, self-governmental, private, joint-stock and the like) enterprises will operate on the basis of unified economic principles and regulations. Equal economic, financial and tax conditions will be secured for all economic subjects between 1989-1990.

Regulations and practices limiting real independence and the self-management of state enterprises will be removed completely. The principle of self-financing will be applied consistently.

New, unconventional forms of work organization will be introduced (like the brigade system) strongly motivating people to good work. Possibilities to lease respective departments or whole plants will be created. Initiatives aimed at transforming state enterprises into joint stock companies with the participation of employees and the state treasury as well as other economic subjects will be endorsed.

The high degree of the monopolization of the Polish economy constitutes a threat to the reform, hampers the development of competition and thus the correct functioning of the market. Monopolistic structures should be broken up in the coming two years.

There is a need to adjust the organization and powers of central state bodies to the new principles of the economy's functioning. The point is to, among other things, transform the planning commission into a central office for planning and making it a headquarters-type of body, to transform the essence and contents of the methods of work of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and others.

Reporting and control should be curtailed to an indispensable low.

5. Better Utilization of Resources, Immediate Undertakings and Restructurization of the Economy

The supply of deficit factors of production—resources and materials, fuels and energy, labour, to the food economy and housing construction must be increased. At present this can be achieved only by limiting the supply of these factors to other sectors of the economy.

The following moves are indispensable:

—The halting of the production of the most material and energy-consuming products in enterprises—mainly of the cement industry, metallurgy, bulk chemicals and others,

—Re-allocation of part of the materials, resources and energy as well as production potential of the defense industry to the production of consumer goods, especially durable goods,

—A limiting of investment projects and the elimination of administration construction projects.

The Polish economy faces a serious energy crisis. If during the next three or four years radical actions are not undertaken a breakdown of the fuel and energy balance may occur. The overcoming of this threat is no longer possible solely through the growth of energy production. There is only one strategic line of action—rationalization of power consumption and lowering of the energy-intensity of the national income.

Indispensable is also a review of the foreign trade turnover from the point of view of the energy and effectiveness balance.

In many regions and in numerous areas of production a lack of labour is the most responsible factor behind limited production of consumer goods. The overcoming of this barrier and the shaping of the labour market is an indispensable condition for the growth of management effectiveness.

The mechanism of the streamlining and bankruptcy of enterprises should become a lasting, systemic method of the effective utilization of the factors of production. The proceedings against economically weak enterprises, which do not have real prospects for improving their situation, should be stepped up. The practices of delaying the streamlining procedure should be categorically stopped.

The in-depth restructuring of the economy should be undertaken as expediently as possible. The effects of this will be visible after some years. The requirement of restructuring will become the main direction of the national socio-economic plan for the 1991-1995 period. The changes should encompass the reduction of outlays on resource and material industries with a simultaneous internal restructuring (e.g. metallurgy) and an increase of outlays on:

—The production of new materials and semi-finished products of lower energy-intensity, greater durability and better quality standards,

—The creation of material and energy-saving technologies,

—The creation of an infrastructure enabling the better utilization of the existing resources,

—The development of industry on the highest world level of technology, created on the basis of, among other things, cooperation with foreign capital,

—Priority sectors—agriculture and the food economy, housing construction, environmental protection and exports.

The protection of the natural environment should become an important direction of the restructuring.

6. Balancing the Economy and Strengthening the Zloty

The process of strengthening the zloty must be initiated. This process means, first of all—the reinstatement to the zloty of the capabilities of performing the basic functions of money as a unit of exchange. Secondly—the radically reduced rate of the fall (and stabilization in the future) of the purchasing power of the zloty. Thirdly—the achievement within 5-7 years of a limited, and consecutively full, external and internal convertibility of the zloty.

A significant turn in the income policy is indispensable for the arresting of the inflationary spiral. The price policy should aim at the gradual achievement of the market equilibrium but, at the same time, it should lead to the arresting of the general rate of price increases.

It is generally assumed that prices should be an external parameter of the relation to the enterprise determined by the domestic or foreign market or by an organ of state administration. This signifies an irreversible move away from the shaping of prices on the basis of enterprises' total costs.

Prices of basic foodstuffs—as has hitherto been the case—should be offical. Market prices, set without administrative intervention will be used in relation to goods and services for which there is already a balanced and competitive market. On the other hand, in areas dominated by monopolies or in which there is a significant disequilibrium state intervention will be allowed (for example in the form of the specification of the index of permissible price increases). In relation to super quality of luxury goods market equilibrium prices will be applied with the provision that a considerable portion of the "disequilibrium rent" will be taken by the state in the form of turnover tax.

Institutional barriers protecting the economy from the excessive issue of new money should be strengthened. The National Bank of Poland will become totally independent of the government. It will answer to the Sejm for its monetary policy, for how it performs its functions as a guardian of the national currency.

A hard policy of maintaining a budget equilibrium should be pursued.

The policy of lower taxes must be accompanied by a policy of savings and purposefulness of budgetary expenditures.

Within the institution of the Finance Ministry legal status should be given to the "state budget" institution which will take over the deeds of ownership of state enterprises from their founding organs.

A basic restructurization of the credit and savings policy is indispensable. A real, positive interest rate on time savings (deposits) and credits should be applied as of 1989. This means that the interest rate will be higher than the rate of inflation.

Wide opportunities will be created for the investment of money by the population in development enterprises created by economic units, development agencies, banks in various sectors.

The transparency of rules and stability of financial solutions for all economic subjects must be assured.

The in-depth restructuring of the financial system of enterprises will uncover the ineffectiveness of various untis, enterprises and economic organizations. They will then be faced with the alternative of either improving their effectiveness and achieving a positive balance or disappearing from economic life altogether.

7. Opening to the World, Overcoming the Debt Barrier

Poland should fully participate in international economic life, systematically increase its share in the international division of labour. Openness of the economy is synonymous with competitiveness on the domestic market which is indispensable for the achievement of the model of the reformed economy.

The Soviet Union will remain the most important partner. Poland's intention is to develop increasingly comprehensive cooperation with the CMEA countries. Poland voices its support for the convertibility of national currencies, for the creation of a common market of socialist countries.

The most difficult problem is the overcoming of the debt barrier and the normalization of economic relations with capitalist countries. Despite the fact that during recent years Poland has allocated 2 billion dollars annually to debt servicing the debt continues to grow. Poland with total determination honours and declares its will of honouring its foreign obligations. Repayment, however, cannot be done at the price of the population's standard of living and the prospects of Poland's development. There is no possibility of further limiting imports. Thus the only way of solving the debt problem is the development of the export potential and a dynamic growth of profitable exports to Western countries. This, however, is dependent on both the effectiveness of the economic policy, especially its pro-export orientation and internal systemic solutions as well as the influx of foreign capital.

An active policy of attracting foreign capital will be pursued. Work on a law regulating the principles, course and scope of activity of foreign subjects should be completed as quickly as possible. Appropriate conditions should be created both for independent foreign enterprises as well as joint stock companies with various forms of Polish capital (state, cooperative, private etc.).

The economic policy will also favour the creation of tariff free zones or zones of intensive economic development such as, for example, the Szczecin initiative.

The consolidation plan should be the basis for the working out—in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund—of an adjustment programme specifying the strategy of solving Poland's debt problem which would take into consideration the normalization of financial-credit relations with creditor countries, the need of supporting Poland's efforts by credits from the IMF and the World Bank.

The realization of the consolidation plan and the irrevocably ensuing change of proportions and economic structures may meet with opposition from socio-professional groups which are losing their privileged position. It may also meet with counteractions by the workforces of those enterprises which as a result of the restructuring will be forced to change their jobs, work place and conditions. The capability of overcoming the conflict between group interests and the overall social interest will decide about the plan's success.

Indispensable, therefore, is the further democratization of socio-political life, the creation of conditions and platforms of expressing the interests and aspirations of various social groups, the shaping of political institutions and mechanisms favouring the settlement of these conflicting interests and the achievement of a social optimum.

The plan of the consolidation of the national economy and especially those solutions which most effectively influence the situation of the working people, their involvement in the healing of the economy on the one hand and the scale of the satisfaction of needs, on the other, should be the subject of a new social agreement.

It is in Poland's supreme interest that the issues of the consolidation of the economy become the subject of the "round table" talks and national agreement.

Army Council Conveys Message to Ceausescu

AU3110173388 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Oct 88 p 5

["Cable Sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, by the Participants in the Plenary Meeting of the Higher Political Army Council With the Aktiv" held in Bucharest on 28 October]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The participants in the plenary session of the Higher Political Army Council with the aktiv—who discussed how the targets of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference are being implemented in the attempt to constantly perfect the teaching of social sciences and who introduced the theses for the upcoming RCP Central Committee plenum into it in order to instill military cadres with a high political and patriotic-revolutionary awareness and to improve the quality of physical training and sports—express, on behalf of the Communists and the entire Army personnel, feelings of boundless love, great esteem, and regard for your ingenious, creative thinking and extensive work dedicated to our homeland's many-sided prosperity and to ensuring Socialist Romania's defense capability.

On this occasion, too, our country's soldiers reaffirm their complete agreement with the masterly theses adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee at the 29 April 1988 meeting and their unreserved appreciation and gratitude to you, the great hero among the heroes of our nation, enthusiastic patriot, brilliant thinker and politician, eminent strategist, and leader of the party and country, whose outstanding revolutionary activity over more than 55 years is an intrinsic part of the struggle waged by our party and people for freedom and social and national justice; for achieving the noble ideals of independence and progress, ensuring the triumph of socialism and communism on Romania soil, and for detente and peace throughout the world.

We also pay warm homage to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, outstanding militant of our party, eminent politician and statesman, and scientist of wide international recognition, who is dedicating her life with boundless revolutionary patriotism and great competence to developing Romanian science, education, and culture, and to the constant prosperity of our socialist homeland.

The plenary meeting of the Higher Political Council is convinced that, being conducted on the basis of your guidelines and recommendations of priceless theoretical and practical value, social science studies in the Army are making an important contribution to the political-ideological and moral training of cadres, to developing their revolutionary and patriotic awareness, to making them acquire a scientific concept about nature and society, and to ennobling their personality with outstanding professional, political-moral, and soldierly qualities. The thoroughly and creatively acquired sociopolitical knowledge has thus turned into a very useful moral and practical instrument in competently organizing and managing the combat and political training of our troops.

At the same time, social sciences have ensured the necessary theoretical and methodological basis for the correct approach, study, and interpretation of political-military processes and phenomena, for corroborating our party's concept on the homeland's defense by the whole nation, for our national military doctrine, and for understanding and utilizing the achievements of present-day military science and art.

In the spirit of tasks mentioned in your speech at the beginning of the new academic year, the discussions emphasized the need to organically incorporate all ideas, theses, concepts, and orientations in the party documents and in your impressive sociopolitical works into the structure and content of social science courses and to make sure that all pupils, students, and cadets become thoroughly acquainted with and understand the theoretical, political, and ideological heritage, the original experience of our party in socialist construction, and its role as vital core of the entire society.

As far as physical training is concerned, it was assessed that in keeping with the directive provisions regarding the Army's military and political training, commanders, and general staff, that the party bodies and organizations and the bodies of the Union of Communist Youth within commands and units should be concerned with ensuring an increased contribution through physical training in order to perfect the combat quality and skills of troops, and with molding steeled military troops able to fulfill all their missions under modern battlefield conditions. Similarly, the need was stressed to work with responsibility to constantly perfect the organizational framework, management, and progress of physical training and mass sports to strengthen the physical and moral backbone of our troops.

Voicing the resolute determination of Communists and of all those who are serving the homeland under the flag, we assure you, much beloved Comrade Secretary General, that our country's Army will welcome the RCP Central Committee plenum and the great political events in Romanian society—the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the united Romanian state, the 45th anniversary of the victory of the August 1944 revolution, and the 14th RCP Congress—with special results in all areas, being ready, together with all our people, to defend our revolutionary achievements and the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

[Signed] The participants in the plenary session of the Higher Political Army Council with the aktiv

'Settlement Modernization,' Urbanization Detailed

AU0311143388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1245 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/11/1988—The translation into fact of a modern conception of urban development of all Romania's settlements led to structural changes that substantially improved their functionality and look. Thus, against the background of a powerful growth of industry, agriculture, of sociocultural activities, Romania underwent an intense urbanization process, the number of towns increasing from 183 in 1965 to 237 at present. The share of the population in municipalities and towns stood at 51 percent at the end of 1987, from 38.2 percent in 1965. The evolution of the urban population is illustrative of the tendency of homogenization of counties, the poorly urbanized ones registering higher growth rates, with the number of counties with a share of the urban population under 35 percent dropping to eight in 1987 from 29 in 1965.

Over 3.4 million new dwellings were built in the 1965-1987 interval, the habitable area exceeding 10.5 sq.m. per inhabitant in almost all counties. A large number of homes were built in Arges, Bacau, Botosani, Buzau, Gorj, Neamt, Suceava, Vaslui, Vilcea, Vrancea counties that had a poor housing stock in the past.

After the creation of powerful urban centres in each county develop primarily from an economic and industrial point of view, Romania entered a stage the goal of which is the priority development of rural settlements and their urbanization. In view is in this respect the organization of economically balanced rural settlements able to finance themselves and administer the whole territory and all the existing economic units in good conditions. Modern industrial production units were built in many rural settlements to use to the best local raw materials, especially in agriculture, zootechny, mining, woodworking, as well as the local work force. In this category fall settlements like Turceni (Gorj County), Colibasi (Arges County), Ilia (Hunedoara County), Nehoiu (Buzau County), Scornicesti (Olt County), Gugesti (Vrancea County), Flaminzi (Botosani County), Avrig (Sibiu County), and many others. The population in communes has at its disposal almost 3.8 million homes, over 12,300 general and high schools for more than two million pupils, 10,000 kindergartens, 2,905 dispensaries, over 7,900 houses of culture, more than 9,900 cinema houses, 11,000 libraries and 36,500 shops.

The programmes for the organization and modernization of communes envisage the development of industrial units as well as of services. Each commune will have a general school with the first high-school stage (i.e. ten-year education). Dispensaries with roughly ten beds, other social units will also be built, conditions similar to those in towns being thus provided.

In the process of developing rural settlements, greater attention is paid to the organization of the joint state and cooperative agroindustrial councils with a view to increasing their agricultural areas and economic potential, so that they be the basis for the future agroindustrial towns and enhance their role in the management of all economic and social activities in their territory.

The future agroindustrial town will operate important industrial and farming units in branches specific to the respective zone. Units of the small-scale industry will be built and services developed. These towns will also have learning, cultural and health protection units. Besides general and vocational schools, there will be high schools with the second stage, a step towards the generalization of the 12-year education. Hospitals with 100 beds, their own maternities and pharmacies, as well as other units like public baths, bakeries, market places, sporting centres will be built. It is in this towns that the joint agroindustrial centres will carry on their activity as political-economic bodies coordinating all activities and including 4-5 communes.

The development of the rural settlements will proceed by specific zones, setting from the conditions existing in each region, preserving traditions and the elements of art and culture characteristic to the Romanian villages.

Energy-Saving Technological Program Noted

AU0311205588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1932 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Program 102"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/11/1988—An action taken several years ago by the National Committee for Science and Technology, in cooperation with the economic ministries resulted in making 102 energy-consumer technologies relevant which cover more than half of the total energy and fuel consumption in the Romanian economy.

Related to these technologies the studies worked out in comparison with the world levels and performances evinced the possibility of cutting fuel consumption by over 11 per cent and electric power consumption by 7 per cent (which accounts for 5 billion kwh).

The so-called Program 102 aims at saving fuel and energy. It envisages in chemistry a consumption cut of over 800,000 tons of conventional fuel and a reduction of energy consumption of 3-0 million kwh. In the electric power industry the programme provides for a yearly 100 billion kwh consumption cut. In metallurgy the annual reduction amounts to 500,000 tons of conventional fuel and 200 million kwh, while in the cement industry to 100,000 tons of conventional fuel and 200 million kwh. The programme also refers to the hot sectors in the machine-building industry, the glassware industry, the wood-working industry, mining, and others.

The programme includes about one thousand technical, technological and organizational measures the implementation of which is rigorously controlled.

An analysis made at the middle of this year showed that the application of the programmes for the modernization of energy-consumer technologies was conducive to lower consumption compared to the same period last year which was equal to 750,000 tons of conventional fuel and 250 million kwh.

Ungur Meets Israeli Officials in Tel Aviv

AU0311205788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Session of the Joint Romanian-Israeli Commission of Economic, Technical and Commercial Cooperation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tel Aviv, AGERPRES, 3/11/1988—The proceedings of the eleventh session of the Joint Romanian-Israeli Commission of Economic, Technical and Commercial Cooperation were held in Israel. On the occasion, the Romanian chief delegate, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, was received by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and had interviews and talks with Shim'on Peres, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Ari'el Sharon, industry and trade minister, Hayim Corfu, minister of transport, as well as with representatives of trading and industrial companies in Israel. A number of actions and measures intended to provide for the further development of commercial exchanges and economic and technical cooperation between the two countries were discussed and agreed upon.

Dascalescu To Visit Syria Early November

AU0311195188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/11/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will pay an official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic, at the invitation of that country's prime minister, Mahmud al-Zu 'Bi, in the first decade of November, 1988.

Szasz Meets Brazilian Interim President

AU2910183288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1708 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Brasilia AGERPRES, 29/10/1988—Messages were exchanged between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Jose Sarney, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, when Brazil's interim president, Ulysses Guimaraes, received in Brasilia a Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Iosif Szasz, GNA [Grand National Assembly] deputy chairman, who are paying a visit to that country. During the talk, emphasis was placed on the wish to further develop bilateral relations on multiple planes.

The Romanian parliamentary delegation conducted talks with the interim president of the Chamber of Deputies, the interim president of the Federal Senate, the minister of industry and commerce, the interim minister of foreign affairs, and the chairman of the Brazilian Inter-Parliamentary Group.

Cultural Agreement With GDR Signed

AU0211184488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1632 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/11/1988—Bucharest was the venue of the sixth session of the Joint Governmental Commission of Cultural Collaboration between Romania and the German Democratic Republic. The session's protocol was signed by Tamara Dobrin, vice-chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, and Peter Lorf, deputy minister of culture, both chairmen of the commission.

Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, met Wednesday the GDR cultural chief delegate. Herbert Plaschke, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Bucharest, attended.

Expansion in Socialist Economic Ties Detailed

AU0211191788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 2 Nov 88

["Romania's Growing Economic Relations With the Socialist Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/11/1988—Romania develops fine relations with all the socialist countries and militates for the strengthening and development of their collaboration and solidarity with a view to overcoming the divergencies among some of them. Romania's links with all the socialist countries are consistently set on the strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, mutual assistance and international solidarity. The deciding role in the ensurance of an ever more ascending course of Romania's ties with the other socialist countries has been played by President Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings and talks with their party and state leaders. Over 1965-1988 Romania had more than 170 summit meetings with the other socialist countries as part of exchanges of visits or during multilateral meetings.

During these summit visits, new treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, more than 100 joint declarations and communiques, numerous documents on economic collaboration and in other areas—including long-term programmes for the development of cooperation—were concluded. Furthermore, during either the preparatory period or the visits proper more than 250 agreements, conventions and other important instruments of economic collaboration and cooperation in and specialization of production were signed.

Romania boasts long-term programmes of economic collaboration until the year 2000 with most of the socialist countries. Economic relations develop according to long-term agreements which provide for substantial growths over the 1986-1990 interval as to the 1981-1985 five-year plan period. The commercial protocols for 1988 provide for more exchanges with the socialist countries than in the previous year. There are roughly 200 understandings with the socialist countries on economic collaboration and cooperation in and specialization of production in power engineering, chemistry, petrochemistry, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, mining, construction materials, woodworking and others. Furthermore, some 100 new ventures of cooperation in and specialization of mechanical and electrical engineering, electronics, metallurgy, chemistry and other branches are now in various stages of negotiations.

At the same time, in line with the five-year collaboration programmes between central science and technology bodies and with the direct collaboration understandings concluded between ministries, research institutes and others, broad collaboration has been achieved, more particularly as concerns research in and design of new machines, technologies, devices and installations intended for the branches whose role in a stepped-up technical and scientific progress is decisive. Collaboration programmes in scientific research and technological development over 1986-1990 contain significant cooperation themes in power engineering, raw materials and fuels.

As a founding member of the CMEA, Romania takes active part in its activity and contributes to the attainment of the targets enshrined in the CMEA statute and other documents. Romania carries through intense activities for the fulfilment of the provisions under the complex programme and under the special programmes for long-term collaboration, which the CMEA member countries adopted, in power engineering, fuels, raw materials, agriculture, the food industry, mechanical engineering, industrial consumer goods and transport. This activity materializes in Romania's contribution to the implementation of roughly 250 agreements, conventions and other multilateral understandings—most of them long-term ones—concluded with CMEA members countries. Noteworthy among them are the agreements on the joint construction of large production units in the pulp, asbestos and ferroalloys industries, the capitalization of natural gas deposits and the construction of nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union, as well as the building of a nickel-cobalt works in Cuba. For the products Romania delivers and for the services it performs, it receives part of the products manufactured in the new units.

Furthermore, a substantial number of Romanian industrial units take part in the implementation of more than 50 manysided conventions on specialization of and cooperation in the production of important products of mechanical engineering and chemistry. In the field of science and technology, noteworthy are the over 100 multilateral collaboration conventions on palpable research-development problems, in which Romania takes part, as well as cooperation within laboratories collectivities and joint programmes for research, design and testing. Romania takes active part in the activity of 26 international specialized economic organizations and unions, created by CMEA member countries.

Romania's participation in the implementation of all these accords and multilateral understandings, as well as the continuous expansion of its bilateral cooperation relations has reflected in the growth of Romania's commercial exchanges with the other CMEA member countries. The volume of these exchanges has grown with every passing year. Furthermore, their structure has gradually improved—the share of machines, equipment, chemicals and industrial consumer goods in Romanian exports to those countries has gone up from one fourth in 1960 to roughly two thirds at present.

Serbian, Kosovo Presidiums Hold Joint Session

Sokolovic Gives Report

LD0311120488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The task facing the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium today is to embark on implementing point nine of the immediate tasks adopted at the LCY Central Committee 17th session. We must adopt positions on individual responsibility within the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium as well as positions on the renewal of cadres aimed at enhancing the Kosovo LC's capacity for efficiently implementing declared policy in the struggle against counterrevolution.

This is how Zoran Sokolovic began his introductory report at today's joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Our discussion today about the issue of responsibility will be conducted in light of the seriously deteriorating political and security situation in the province and in light of the measure of warning meted out to the Provincial Committee at the LCY Central Committee 17th session, he said.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium are called upon to establish the individual responsibility of its members for failure to carry out the tasks of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, Zoran Sokolovic continued. He particularly warned that the Provincial Committee and its Presidium had, since the very beginning, been sharply condemning protest meetings by Serbs and Montenegrins provoked by continued terror and injustice. The leadership has up until today been making negative assessments of these meetings, describing them as single-national, noninstitutional, or even natonalist, i.e. as being the cause of the seriously deteriorating political- security situation in the province.

Sokolovic illustrated this by numerous examples and said that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium had assessed the content and messages of the meetings solely in light of individual, extreme, and unacceptable statements. It attempted increasingly to use the meetings to explain the overall difficult political-security situation in the province. In this way the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium shifted the main direction of the struggle against Albanian nationalists to denouncing and compromising the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, including statements made by members of the Serbian LC Central Committee at these gatherings.

With such a position and attitude on the part of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the meetings are described as the work of Serbian nationalists or manipulations by the Serbian leadership, which is incorrect and unacceptable. The main reason for such an assessment of the Kosovo political leadership is found in the fact that these meetings were critical, calling people to account and pointing out the exponents of nationalist, bureaucratic, opposition and opportunist activity and behavior.

Treating the protest meetings in such a way, the leadership had a direct impact on the restraint of the Albanian population from participating at these meetings, which consequently contributed to divisions between nations and nationalities. This contributed objectively to the encouragment of Albanian nationalists and separatists, to further dissatisfaction among the Serbs and Montenegrins, and to a complete loss of trust in the provincial leadership. Instead of using the gatherings of those who are threatened, attacked, insulted, and regarded with disdain to set up a united front for the struggle against all the culprits, attackers, separatists and nationalists, the assessments, stands, and attitudes of the most responsible people in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium polarize and divide even further the nations and nationalities in Kosovo. It is, therefore, not surprising to hear as long ago as last October at the session of the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee the announcement of a school boycott as a possibility, and to see it become a reality a year later. Instead of energetic action leading to complete differentiation in education and united opposition to bullies, villains and nationalists in the Kosovo LC leadership are looking for the culprits on the other side.

Though the aggressiveness of the hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists after the LCY Central Committee ninth session gained exceptional escalation, continued Sokolovic, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Provincial Committee itself developed a fundamental ideopolitical action because of a lack of readiness on the part of the most responsible individuals and among the broadest strata of Albanian working people and citizens. For this reason there was no mass opposition on the part of Albanians to numerous crimes committed by nationalists from their own ranks. Such a morality is two-faced opportunist, and incompatible with the LC program of principles and orientations. [passage omitted]

Sokolovic noted that on the basis of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum the duty of the Kosovo LC is to continue to unmask individual events from Kosovo's past which constitute strong support and encouragement to Albanian nationalism and separatism. To this very day the authorized institutions in Kosovo fail to examine and eliminate the negative consequences of a year-long, uncritical, national-romantic, and extremely un- Marxist attitude toward these historic events. Both Bujan [conference] and the names of some social awards, streets, schools, institutions, as well as the abuse of Albanian flags and some assessments in the historiography of the Albanian nationality from Kosovo are but mere illustrations of this phenomenon. Young people in Kosovo are still not rid of serious and

dangerous misconceptions, which have been spread by Albanian nationalists and separatists over a long period of time. The LC Provincial Committee has still not effectively come to grips with these problems.

The consequences of the indoctrination have been suffered only by those who have been its victims, and not by those who have been its main creators and champions. The responsibility of the provincial party leadership is great for failing to completely carry out the ongoing process of ideopolitical and cadre differentiation in education, above all at the university.

An essential influence on the quality of education and upbringing and on education's focus on creating a Yugoslav patriotic awareness and loyalty to socialist self-management values has not been achieved. Irresponsibility regarding this key political task is the essence of the failure by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, above all, by its most responsible individuals, to prevent the further indoctrination of the Albanian youth, students in particular.

Irresponsible implementation of the cadre policy in education and science has led to cadres burdened with nationalism and separatism being kept in educational and scientific institutions and organs of the province, and to these institutions—which are of the utmost importance in shaping the awareness of the young generation—being used to employ provincial officials who have tendered their resignations or have been dimissed due to their prominent opportunism or open separatist activity.

As a result of indecisiveness in fully implementing the ideopolitical differentiation in educational institutions in the province, many concrete tasks in achieving a unified educational system are being carried out with great difficulties. Adoption of joint programs on the so-called national disciplines have been delayed due to the insistence that a greater number of specific national topics be introduced at the expense of the joint Yugoslav core curriculum. For example, the educational plan and program for Serbo-Croatian as the mother tongue for secondary schools has not yet been adopted, because the most responsible individuals in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee are stubbornly insisting that three writers from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who do not belong to the Albanian Cultural Heritage of Yugoslavia, be included. Furthermore, it is evident that the work by the Pristina Institute for Textbooks on a large number of textbooks for the entire republic, especially history and other social science books, is being hindered by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. These textbooks, if jointly written from the Marxist standpoint, will make an exceptional contribution to the ideological and cultural integration of Kosovo youth.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and Presidium are especially responsible for failing, and not even seriously trying, to motivate school and university youth and the educational and scientific teaching staff for the ideological and political struggle to destroy the counterrevolutionary activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists. The greater part of the Albanian intelligentsia has remained passive in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism. Contrary to this, a substantial number of intellectuals of the Albanian nationality, even those with the highest academic and scientific knowledge, have been intensively engaged in opposing the proposed solutions for constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, thereby further deepening the existing difference and intranational division in Kosovo.

Speaking more widely about the continuity of action for constitutional changes in the Serbia Socialist Republic and the continuity of resistance to this in this province, Zoran Sokolovic stressed that it would seem that the clear position of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the 17th session of the Central Committee that the ideopolitical essence of the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution are in accordance with the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress is not acceptable to the provincial leadership and they do not feel bound by it. The leadership and communists of Kosovo have not accepted and carried out the task of explaining the essence of the proposed amendments in the public debate and of winning approval for the proposed solutions together with all progressive forces. Contrary to the established positions and expectations following the 17th session, there is a change in the political climate in behavior and in the actual course of the public debate, which goes against the adopted stances of the LCY Central Committee.

Individuals and the province's leadership have over a long period of time created a negative political climate by their public and tacit opposition and challenge to the changes in the Serbian Constitution. The absence of energetic action along the line of the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the avoidance of open opposition to declarations from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism have caused great political harm. It is not simply a question of the possibility of an eventual constitutional obstruction on the part of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, but above all is a question of the fact that the debate so far has introduced new divisions on a national basis and has deepened the intolerance and impatience in intranational relations to extreme limits. In the local communities, the work organizations, the Socialist Alliance membership and leadership, the trade unions, the youth organization, and in the LC, majority decision-making, the minority positions of the Serbs and Montenegrins, and the inability of the LC to act as a class of organization have come to the fore.

[Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 8-13 not received]

Milosevic Chairs Session

LD0211225688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidiums, chaired by Slobodan Milosevic, today discussed the realization of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on responsibility for the situation in the province.

Before the introductory reports by Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and Vojislav Zajic, secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, Kacusa Jasari briefed the participants on the stands endorsed at the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium 2 days ago. Stressing first that 10 members out of the Provincial Committee Presidium were elected in 1986 out of 13 precisely because of their commitments in 1981, Kacusa Jasari pointed out that the entire Provincial Committee as well as the Presidium were noted to have accepted responsibility. However, this does not mean that individual members of the Provincial Committee and its Presidium should leave because they are responsible for the situation which was created in the province in 1981 as some members did in 1986 because of a wrongly conducted policy.

Going on to interpret the statement from the last session of the LC Provincial Committee Presidium, Kacusa Jasari warned that in a short period of time further cadre changes should be carried out in the Presidium, not under pressure and not because of the situation in 1981 or lack of ideopolitical orientation, but when we can find people who will be able to mobilize all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo. This job, stressed Jasari, cannot be done in 2 or 3 days' time, which is the impression the public has, because a list of candidates must be compiled and all necessary consultations must take place.

The Presidium's proposal that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee address public criticism to Slobodan Milosevic can, in Milosevic's words, only be understood, after the LCY Central Committee's warning, as a modification, not to say a step back from the original demand. However, we did not set off in the right direction in implementing the immediate tasks of the LCY Central Committee. If the first step is renewal, and differentiation comes later, it then becomes a question of whether and how quickly the Provincial Committee will participate in cadre training and qualify for the serious tasks entrusted to it by the LCY Central Committee and all the organs of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The time factor, stressed Milosevic, and the commitment and acuity in tackling the changes must come first. Milosevic then suggested another solution: not to initiate a big debate, but instead to hold a session of the Provincial Committee in the next few days and carry out the necessary cadre changes, since this step has not yet been implemented.

We have seen, added Milosevic, a great deal of hesitation, deviations, and compromises which have led the country into this dramatic situation. He asked finally whether it will be possible to hold a session of the Provincial Committee in a few days' time to make radical cadre changes. This would equip the Provincial Committee for its work because, judging by the assessment of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and the session of the Serbian League of Communists, it has not shown itself capable of carrying out its duties in the past.

Kacusa Jasari replied by saying that a turnaround in cadre policy cannot be achieved in 2 or 3 days; as far as ideopolitical differentiation goes, we have completed it as far as the LC Provincial Committee Presidium is concerned. There is certainly work to be done on the question of working differentiation, Jasari concluded,

Milosevic reacted to this by saying that as far as differentiation is concerned, one is thinking not only of the essential need for this process in the LC leadership, but also in the state organs from the municipalities to the province and in all sociopolitical organizations. After all, it has been established that there are not only very many people within these organs who by their vacillation and irresolution have not opposed the counterrevolutionary phenomena, but there also those who have carried out direct activity in this direction. However, differentiation in the LC, especially in its leadership, represents the first step which will facilitate every other differentiation. Any other order of procedure will not guarantee success.

Taking part in this preliminary debate, Stanislav Stojanovic (a member of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian LC), stressed that the greatest responsibility for the situation in Kosovo and the realization of the aims of the LCY on key questions is borne by the present Provincial Committee and its Presidium, not by former ones. The action of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in connection with the public criticism means the most direct negation of the assessments of the LCY Central Committee on the responsibility and obligations stemming from this. It would have been more correct if the question of the responsibility of members of the Provincial Committee Presidium were raised, and if it were then concluded that no one is responsible, than simply not to raise this question and even, in the explanation of the forthcoming cadre changes, to stress the criterion of working differentiation.

Kacusa Jasari replied to this that it is not a good way to approach the session by insisting only on cadre changes, pointing out the whole of Article 9 of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

If it is thought, Jasari went on to stress, that as a result of a warning from the LCY Central Committee the whole of the Kosovo party leadership ought to present its balance sheet and say: We are responsible for the situation in the province—then, things cannot be done in this way.

Vico Ratomir immediately remarked here that everything which has been done at the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium represents a flight from responsibility, or to put it better, a flight from the establishment of individual responsibility. He expressed his conviction that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee itself cannot accept this. The LCY Central Committee warning certainly means a warning to those who also know the LCY Statute. After all, if the warning is not respected, then inevitably the convocation of the provincial conference and the election of a new PC must follow.

Husamedin Azemi, Borisav Jovic, Milomir Minic, and Uros Seslija also spoke. At the end, Milosevic said that the preliminary debate as it has been conducted falls in the category of the fundamental topic of this meeting. After this, they moved on to the introductory report.

No one, not the party leadership of the country, nor the Serbian LC, nor the communists in the province, has the right, according to Mihail Milojevic, to interpret, and still less to redefine and dilute the conclusions of the 9th and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. That we are not immune to this, Milojevic said, is shown by the latest statement by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and he proposed that concrete programs for the realization of the stances and conclusions of the 9th and 17th LCY Central Committee Plenums be drawn up, particularly in the municipal and basic organizations of the LC in Kosovo, so that the numerous members of this province can finally be mobilized. In parallel with this, Milojevic concluded, we need honest differentiation throughout the Kosovo LC, proceeding from those who did not want to and could not do more, and those who want to and can, because to go is honest, Milojevic concluded, but to take an opportunist attitude to one's own party, the LC, is dishonest.

Speaking about the "order of moves," Milan Gvozdic said that first of all it is necessary to assess whether the party leadership in the province enjoys the confidence of the membership, working people, and citizens. Noting that it should finally be made known why the situation in Kosovo remains complex and why there was national division during the debate on the changes to the Constitution, and who precisely is responsible for this, Gvozdic said that the obligation of establishing individual responsibility is being unecessarily put off, above all because of opportunism. Noting in detail what has contributed to the weak results following the 9th and particularly the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, Gvozdic emphasized firstly the disorganized, slow, inconsistent, and inefficient work of the LC in the province.

Instead of speeding up and encouraging the initial positive trends of 1987, and particularly following the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session on relations with the LC organs and other republican organs of the SR of Serbia, these are unecessarily and groundlessly getting worse, Gvozdic stressed. It is not clear to me why we did not synchronize the work in the field better when we know that this year the presence of activists from the SR of Serbia and their contribution to work in the field have significantly increased. This probably occurred because we in the Kosovo LC have not had clear stands on the rallies, or rather because we advocated not going to rallies which are not organized by legal organs and organizations, and there were no others. We have distanced ourselves from the people, and particularly we Serbian and Montenegrin cadres in Kosovo, so that they are probably rightly dissatisfied with us and are justifiably seeking our resignations and withdrawal. [passage omitted]

The question of accountability must be raised, according to Petar Gracanin, because in Kosovo hatred has been created between people of different nationalities. This is impermissible and punishable; this is a direct threat to the brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities, which is the greatest gain of our national liberation struggle and revolution for which enormous sacrifices were made; no one has the right to trifle with this.

The public expectations of this session are too great for us to be satisfied with analysis and self-criticism, Ljubomir Popovic said. We will have to show the public whether we really deserve to remain on the political stage, and not only in Kosovo; whether we can and will make some concrete moves; or whether we should announce that we are not prepared to do this. We are expected to put and end to disagreements and to name those responsible, not because of bitterness and dissatisfaction, but because of the justified criticisms of our work. [passage omitted]

It is communist to recognize that we have always been late in accepting responsibility for the Kosovo drama, Radmila Andjelkovic was resolute in saying. It is as if we have succumbed to a false impression of the defense of national equality and the alleged defense of the Albanian nationality, and as if the talks on responsibility are ostensibly a campaign against people. It must be clear to everyone in this country that the question of responsibility is not being raised by old or new conclusions or resolutions, nor by the sharp political course of the party organs. [passage omitted]

As a Communist and as a human being, I must say that unless there is responsibility in general, and by the Provincial Committee by name, I cannot imagine the content and conclusions of our session today, let alone our future ones on Kosovo, stated Radmila Andjelkovic.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium cannot have any real influence, power, confidence, and the reputation to do what it has to do, to mobilize all the progressive forces from the ranks of all the nationalities, when it sticks to basically the same method of working, thinking, and assessment of the situation and causes of this situation, stressed Vukasin Jokanovic. I am deeply convinced that in these circumstances the problems will increase and become exacerbated, just as dissatisfaction will, although it has already reached its limit. This would further intensify the situation in the country. Consequently, the responsibility is also becoming greater. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, national division has also entered into our forums. We should not close our eyes to this, observed Jokanovic. It is present both in the Provincial Committee, in the Kosovo Assembly, and in the SAWP. And it is normal for this division to spread from here to environments where people live and work. This is tragic. This has blocked many other tasks which we face and which stem from the conclusions of the ninth session.

Which Albanian cadres can help change the situation, Jokanovic asked. He answered: Those who have the confidence of the Serbs and Montenegrins, and in whom they too have trust, but also those who enjoy the full confidence of citizens of Albanian nationality.

The Serbs and Montenegrins will not accept the position which they are in at present—a situation of danger to their national entity, danger to the multinational composition of the province and its essence as such, Jokanovic stressed. It is unlikely that anyone wil accept a position in this situation he said, concluding that in such a case there would be new elections, new representatives, collective movements, and everything else that arises out of these negative trends.

We have recently been witnessing mass public expressions of a lack of confidence in the leadership, said Sonja Scepanovic. A hunger strike has been declared, party membership certificate booklets have been returned, Serbs and Montenegrins have resigned from leading posts and universities. There have also been collective emigration and renewed protests. We must not ignore this. How can we operate without public support, especially in our environment? I feel personally responsible for the situation which we have not managed to improve through joint efforts. [passage omitted]

Dobrica Cvetkovic considers that Article 9 of the Immediate Tasks is like a well-written recipe, and that the conclusion of the last session of the Provincial Committee Presidium is therefore an attempt to disregard or at least postpone the clearly-forumlated and precise stand of the 17th session. Cvetkovic rejected Kacusa Jasari's argument that responsibility cannot be established in a few days time considering, as he put it, that 2 weeks have passed since the 17th LCY Central Committee session alone, and over 1 month since the session of the two Presidiums in Pristina. Neither does he accept the explanation that 10 members of the Provincial Committee Presidium were "only" elected 2 and ½ years ago, because these people emerged from various forms of activity in Kosovo after 1981. Differentiation must therefore refer to everyone, even to unsuccessful leaders and to public and concealed opponents. [passage omitted] On the immediate tasks, Husamedin Azemi stressed that the situation is such that quite simply no one knows whose side anyone is on or who one should fight against. The criterion for this exists: It is to vote for or against the stands of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, and so those who are against, regardless of who they are or what political or other capital they possess, must leave. But it is going to be hard for them to leave of their own free will, so joint working groups should be set up to provide concrete proposals for cadre changes, Azemi concluded.

Vladimir Stambuk warned that very little is being done to suppress indoctrination into greater-Albanian nationalism and separatism in the areas of culture, science, education, and information. [Passage omitted]

Milomir Jakovljevic said the LC provincial leadership is behind the times in not understanding the problems; that its vision is miraculously narrowed; and that it does not have a single answer to any problem or a strategic initiative to make even the first step along the lines of Yugoslav policy. Besides this, Jakovljevic says the leaders fail to see that counterrevolutionaries stepped onto the scene as part of discussions on constitutional changes and that the LC of Kosovo at that time and in this way broke from LCY policy.

In the first part of his report Remzi Koljgeci expressed "nonpolemic" disagreement with parts of the introductory report by Sokolovic which, in his opinion, illustrated the situation and activities in Kosovo too generally and too negatively. For instance, Koljgeci objects to the statement that "intellectuals in Kosovo remained aloof," when the truth is that only some intellectuals remained outside the action; one cannot put "everyone in the same boat."

Speaking about responsibility, Koljgeci noted that opinions differ. Some want to reduce responsibility to collective resignation. Have we fully considered what would happen after a collective resignation in Kosovo, he asked? How would this reflect on the people, on all people? I personally think the collective resignation of the entire Provincial Committee Presidium is out of the question; but we can consider its reconstruction, Koljgeci stressed.

He also raised the issue of calling people to account and in this vein warned people of their duty to question responsibility only in cases when calling to account is justified and well substantiated.

Remzi Koljgeci also discussed the degree of unity in the Serbia and Kosovo leaderships, asking about how they diverged, "and not as leaderships but as individuals within a leadership." I think, he noted, that we have diverged in our method of building unity and that our own practices should be reexamined. I personally think that the basic way to unite us, and to unite us not only within the leadership but in Kosovo as a whole, is to sit down and discuss what to do and how to do it.

We should carry out continual differentiation based on how the tasks to implement the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are to be implemented. We should carry out continual differentiation, stressed Jordan Kostic. It is better to reduce the membership of the LC in Kosovo by half if those who remain are prepared to put maximum effort into following LCY policy. [passage omitted]

Having reminded everyone that the working people and citizens of Vojvodina were not satisfied with their leadership's attitude to the problems of Kosovo, Ilija Cosic stressed that for this reason as well as because of other mistakes in its work, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium had to resign. This is why the Vojvodina public do not accept or understand the proposal that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should address public criticism to its Presidium.

I do not think that this Presidium should resign in the same way as the Vojvodina LC Provncial Committee Presidium. Even if we wanted to, it could not happen; but differentiation is necessary. That much is obvious, and the Kosovo LC organs should make a decision on this, stressed Cosic.

We did not interpret Article 9 of the conclusions of the 17th session to mean that we should all leave. Our point of departure in the process of concrete realization is to establish responsibility and decide what to do to improve work, as well as find out to whom this responsibility and assessment refer in the sense that this person can no longer bear the brunt of the action. This is perhaps why the public criticism voiced in this statement and in these circumstances and atmosphere resembles eating humble pie, Azem Vlasi said. However, we have started this process, we will continue it, and we are not running away from it, nor can we do such a thing. Speaking about the responsibility of the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, Vlasi said that "there is no one among us who departs from the LC policy."

Vlasi continued by dwelling on some assessments made in the introductory speech by Zoran Sokolovic; he considered them too severe. He refuted the thesis that the Albanians are not in sufficient numbers or en mass involved in the struggle against the counterrevolution, as well as the assessment that the leadership is at fault for not leading them. Changes in the leadership, from the Provincial Committee to all other levels, will not be collective. This is our approach, and if we do not understand each other let us please make things clear, concluded Vlasi.

Pointing to two new elements involved in the exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo—the refuting of the ideopolitical essence of the constitutional amendments and the approach of the Kosovo Provincial Committee to the realization of Article 9—Bogdan Trifunovic thought what Vlasi said was good because his speech showed a consistent position which is not in keeping with the stands of the 17th session and the stands of the Serbian LC. Trifunovic interpreted Vlasi's speech as "shifting responsibility onto others and justifying oneself and others," and objected to Vlasi unnecessarily defending the Albanian nationality.

Trifunovic also quoted some previous speeches by Vlasi, in particular his statement that "responsibility cannot be established in the street because of a lack of dialogue" and said in reply that if neither the state nor any other organs are functioning, how are people to fight and suppress terror with dialogue? Referring to another statement by Vlasi that "the Serbian LC Central Committee cannot pronounce stands to pass judgement on somebody," Trifunovic wondered whether the application of the Central Committee's statutory rights could be taken as passing judgement.

All this led Trifunovic to conclude that despite previous cadre changes in the Kosovo LC, the old tendencies are still present and the old policy still continues, and can be described as continual confrontation with the republican leadership (which leads to intranational divisions); it persists on not resolving the problems within the LC of Serbia, but on seeking a federal arbiter.

Replying to Trifunov, Vlasi rejected the claim that this speech so far was contrary to the stands of the 17th session defending the Kosovo leadership and the Albanian nationality. I only pointed to some phenomena which have a negative effect on mobilizing masses, said Vlasi, adding that if Trifunovic does not believe him, he ought to come and check it out on the spot, especially, as far as he remembers, as Trifunovic did not go to Kosovo once during his mandate.

Dragan Pajic drew special attention to the fact that differentiation was not implemented in the provincial information media. We have never heard that the provincial media analyzed the work of the public media in Albanian, said Pajic, quoting examples which would certainly merit an analysis. The latest one is the public discussion on the constitutional amendments as carried by RILINDJA and Pristina television.

Speaking about changing the situation, it is natural to start from the question of whether the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in its present form can stand up to the duties, abilities, readiness, and resolve

for action by each of its members, said Radisa Gacic. Also, he added, do its members have enough authority in the membership, among working people and citizens and among members of all the nations and nationalities? [passage omitted]

I would repeat the example which has been used a great deal here—the constitutional changes—said Gacic. Differences appeared from the very beginning, but the Presidium and the Provincial Committee failed to take resolute action to contribute to reducing or overcoming these differences. If this is not sorted out, consequences could be catastrophic, stressed Gacic. Is the leadership aware of this? And is it doing enough to overcome these diferences and carry out the constitutional changes?

Predrag Zivanovic was surprised to see with how much perseverence individuals try to shift responsibility which seems obvious and clear, and added that the Kosovo LC Provisional Committee Presidium has still not considered Comrade Vojislav Zajic to be established, and that Communists from Vitina regard Comrade Ekrem Arifi in the same way.

Speaking at the end of the session, Kacusa Jasari rejected a number of assessments made in Zoran Sokolovic's introductory report. At the same time, she said, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has been making all its assessments unanimously. She added that in light of the existing situation we cannot afford to insist on self-justification nor to hide our weaknesses. In her view there should be no differences in views on ideopolitical and work differentiation.

Petar Gracanin was more specific and proposed a discussion on the issue of responsibility of the two officials who have occupied the post of president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee since 1986, of the Presidium secretaries, of Ekrem Arifi, Rahman Dedaj, and other comrades from the Provincial Committee and other leading organs, as well as of Comrades Gvozdic and Seslija who, Gracanin noted, spoke in a self-critical manner today.

According to Borisav Jovic, the key issue is the Provincial Committee's attitude to criticism, and this attitude should be taken as a criterion in cadre policy. This attitude, Jovic said, has not been noticed either in Vlasi or in Jasari, although the latter did speak well today but "point-blank rejected the assessments made in Sokolovic's introductory report." There are two issues of vital importance, Jovic insists, and the issue of who should go is the priority one. Full unanimity is needed on this issue, and the comrades affected must have the capacity to leave others to assess their work, as some of them did today. The second issue is who to bring in. In Jovic's view, it is important that the renewed leadership's approach is not one of confrontation with the leadership of the Serbian LC. Jovic suggested that if this part of the job cannot be completed by the next joint session of the three Presidia, the session should be postponed.

Bringing today's debate, in which 35 participants spoke, to a conclusion, Slobodan Milosevic stressed that the issue of cadre changes and individual and collective responsibility has come to the fore at the very start of the debate. This is quite natural since cadre changes in Kosovo, in the light of the situation in Kosovo, which is not normal but exceptionally difficult, cannot be equated with the changes underway in the entire LCY. The pace and scope of changes in Kosovo must, therefore, be maximal, Milosevic stressed.

The answer to the most sensitive question—how to carry out the changes—lies in our capacity to adhere, actively and not just verbally, to the view that the problem of Kosovo can be resolved only by strengthening the united front of Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Muslims, and all other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo. Therefore, in their leaderships they need people who will enable them to live in peace, with mutual respect, and in brotherhood. Kosovo does not need those Albanians in its leadership who will apparently side with Serbs and Montenegrins but who will be considered "traitors" by other Albanians. Nor do we need Serbs and Montenegrins who, in revenge, will blame all Albanians for what the chauvinists in their ranks have been doing.

Individuals must be brought into the Kosovo leadership, Milosevic continued, who will support all the people living there and who will protect all of them from misery and from the disgraceful events there, events which will be repeated if the idea of an ethnically pure Kosovo is allowed to be realized. Albanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin children live there together. Why should not their parents elect representatives who will enable the children to grow up in peace and joy, at least to the extent that children in other parts of Yugoslavia and in Europe are allowed to do so?

It is a fact that during today's debate several comrades reiterated the need for a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo. If a united front is our genuine aim, the first step is the decision that all those who have lost the confidence of any section of the front must resign from their posts and be replaced by Albanians, Serbs, or Montenegrins who enjoy the confidence of all, Milosevic concluded. He called on the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium to go back to Pristina and finish the job of cadre changes in the interest of the citizens of Kosovo and of Yugoslavia's reputation and survival.

Today's session ended with the unanimous adoption of conclusions which stress that the immediate tasks adopted at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee provide a stable foundation for the LC's energetic action in consistently implementing the LCY's declared policy on Kosovo, especially the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session. Any trivialization and

postponement of the tasks arising from them and especially of those referring to the issue of responsibility as specified in Point 9 of the immediate tasks are unacceptable.

The measures of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium of 1 November were assessed as inadequate. The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium are of the view that, before any cadre renewal is undertaken, it is necessary in as short a period of time as possible to establish the degree of individual responsibility in the Presidium and in the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC for the failure to implement the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo. In the process of ideopolitical and work differentiation, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium should rid itself of those individuals who no longer enjoy the confidence of either the people or the LC membership. Both their departure and the appointment of new cadres who are prepared and competent to fight for the implementation of LCY policy will have a considerable positive effect on the political mood and on future actions. Under the same criteria, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should insist on the individual responsibility of Communists to be established at all levels of organization in Kosovo, in municipal and provincial organs of authority, in sociopolitical organizations, and in provincial administrative organs. It should also call for the departure of the officials most responsible for the deteriorating situation in the province, the two Presidia stress in their conclusions.

Kosovo's Seslija Resigns From Presidium

LD0311203688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Uros Seslija, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, today handed in his irrevocable resignation from the above membership. He stresses that he fully supports the conclusions of yesterday's joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, as well as the movement toward necessary radical changes in the party leadership of Kosovo.

Uros Seslija is a well-known businessman and sociopolitical worker from Kosovo who was the first to propose the collective resignation of members of this Kosovo party forum at the recent joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will, as reported, discuss the resignation of Uros Seslija soon.

Upcoming Kosovo, Serb Session Postponed

AU0311133388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Nov

[Text] Belgrade—The joint session of the presidiums of the LCY and Serbian LC Central Committees and the Kosovo Provincial Committee will not be held on 7 November. The session will be held when the Provincial Committee makes a report on the implementation of the 17th LCY Plenum conclusions. The announcement issued today says that it was agreed at the LCY Central Committee Presidium meeting, at the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, because of the Provincial Committee's obligations on implementing conclusions made at their joint session held yesterday to postpone the joint session of the three presidiums convened for 7 November. It was also concluded that the session should be held as soon as possible and that this should be done on the basis of a report of the Provincial Committee on the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Plenum.

Vojvodina Youth Leaders' Attitude 'Irresponsible'

LD0311213788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1758 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—The attitude of Vojvodina's provincial youth leaderships, especially Kosovo, toward the organization of an informal referendum during the public discussion on the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution was irresponsible and was a violation of action unity in the Serbian Socialist Youth Federation [SSO], it is stated in the conclusions from the session of the Serbian SSO Republican Conference which has just ended.

The demand was made for resolute ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo SSO at all levels; the Vojvodina SSO Provincial Conference was advised, proceeding from a number of objections of its membership, to reexamine the stands and to establish the political responsibility of individuals and organs in connection with the events before and during the public discussion on the draft amendments.

Macedonian SAWP Views Language Issue

LD0311145588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Skopje, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—In the massive and creative public debate on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia, which has taken place in all areas of this republic, high awareness has been demonstrated of the need for changes that would genuinely help the development of socialist self-management, the economic and political reform, and a quicker emergence from the crisis our society has found itself in. This was stated at today's joint session of the Republican Conference of the Macedonian SAWP and the Trade

Unions Council of Macedonia, which closed the debate on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia.

These changes, it was said at the session, must not serve as a means for overcoming the crisis alone but they should also create normative preconditions for a more dynamic development of the basic production relationship.In the course of the public debate, demands were made to the effect that the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonian ought to define precisely the rights of the nationalities in the use of language and alphabet—with a clear stand on what a free use of language means—and to make the teaching of the Macedonian language a constitutional obligation. The goal is to promote the Macedonian language into a basic means of communication in mixed areas where members of the nationalities live and work, i.e. on the entire territory of the republic.

In connection with the use of the flags of the nationalities, it was proposed that only the Macedonian flag should be used on public occasions in view of the constitutional definition of this republic as a state of the Macedonian nation, and also a state of the Albanian and Turkish nationality. There were, however, proposals that this definition should be changed to read that the SR of Macedonia is the state of the Macedonian nation and of the sociopolitical communities of all those who live and work in it.

The Republican Conference of the Macedonian SAWP adopted a proposal to nominate Aleksandar Donev, Zoran Ilievski, and Vasil Kuzmanovski for the vacated posts in the sociopolitical chamber of the Assembly of Macedonia.

Loncar To Pay 'Surprise Visit' to FRG

LD0411092588 Hamburg DPA in German 0002 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade (DPA)—"New negative tendencies in economic relations between the Federal Republic and Yugoslavia" are one reason for a surprise visit by Budimir Loncar, the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs, to Bonn (7 and 8 November). This at least is the assessment of Yugoslav diplomats in Belgrade. In the middle of the Balkan state's deep economic and political crisis its relationship with Bonn, as its most important economic partner, is again becoming a focal point.

According to the Yugoslavs, these "new negative tendencies" in the economic collaboration between Bonn and Belgrade come from the restraint shown by German enterprises in investing in that Balkan country. The German financial backers are evidently waiting for the new constitution and the economic reforms announced for the beginning of next year. Belgrade is also disappointed over the fall in German holiday booking on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast. This is caused by news of internal political unrest and complaints about inadequate service from last summer. [passage ommitted]

During this visit the international topics of discussion, on the other hand, are free of problems: Bonn wishes to be briefed by the Yugoslav guest on the Nonaligned summit planned for next September in Belgrade. A further focal point should be the conclusion of the European Security Conference in Vienna, where Yugoslavia has in the past, along with other neutral and nonaligned states, submitted compromise proposals.